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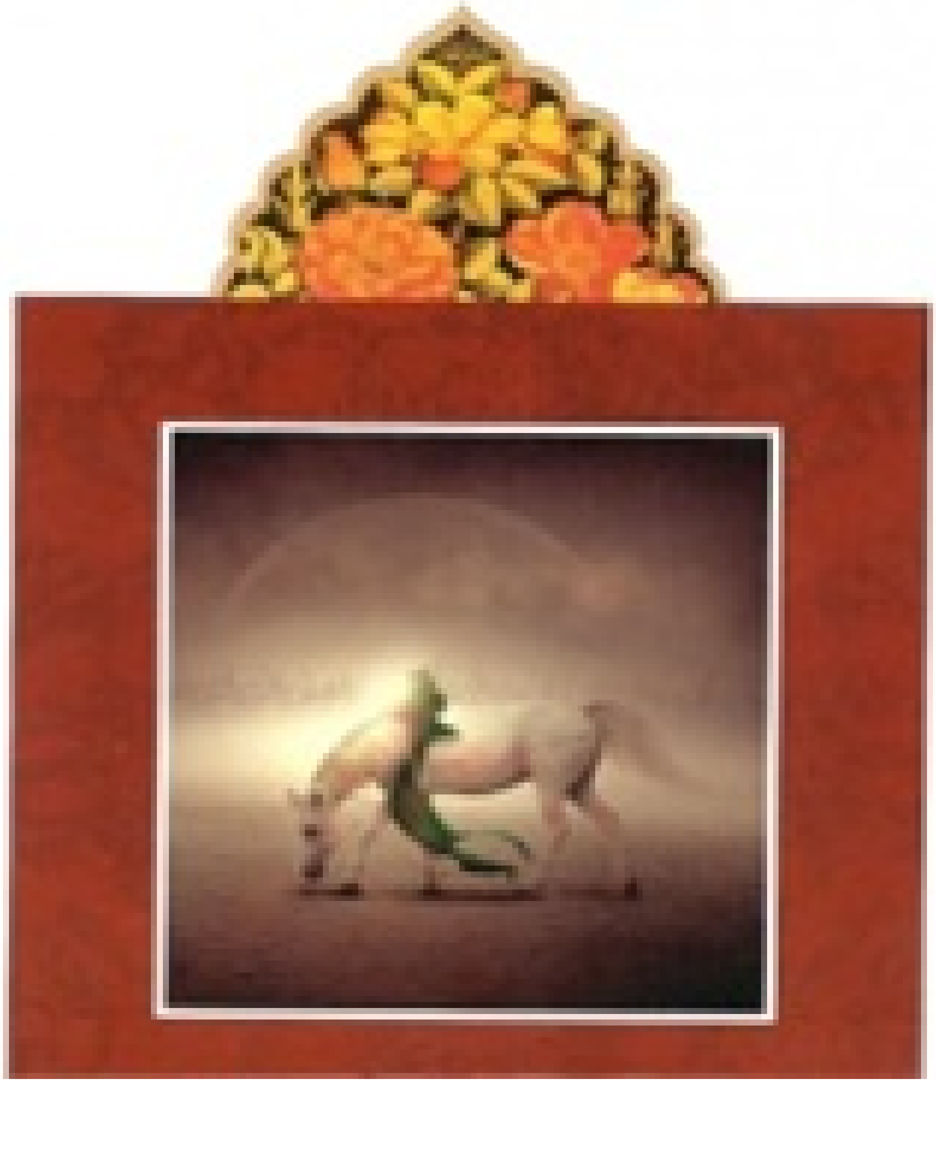
THE EVENT OF TAFF

THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TRAGEDY OF KARBALA'

ABŪ MIKHNAF
LŪṬ BIN YAḤYĀ AL-AZDĪ AL-GHĀMIDĪ
AL-KŪFĪ

Revised by: Shaikh Muhammad Hadi al-Yusufi al-Gharawi

Translator :'Umar Kono



بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

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This revised edition is the research and editing of [Abu Mikhnaf's] work byوقعه الطف .Shaikh Muhammad Hadi al-Yusufi al-Gharawi

Preface

In the Name of Allah, the All-beneficent, the All-merciful

The invaluable legacy of the Household [Ahl al-Bayt] of the Prophet (may peace be upon them all), as preserved by their followers, is a comprehensive school of thought that embraces all branches of Islamic knowledge. This school has produced many .brilliant scholars who have drawn inspiration from this rich and pure resource

It has given many scholars to the Muslim ummah who, following in the footsteps of Imāms of the Prophet's Household (as), have done their best to clear up the doubts raised by various creeds and currents within and without Muslim society and to answer their questions. Throughout the past centuries, they have given well-reasoned answers and clarifications concerning these questions and doubts.

To meet the responsibilities assigned to it, the

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Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly (ABWA) has embarked on a defense of the sanctity of the

Islamic message and its verities, often obscured by the partisans of various sects and creeds as well as by currents hostile to Islam. The Assembly follows in the footsteps of the Ahl al-Bayt (as) and the disciples of their school of thought in its readiness to confront these challenges and tries to be on the frontline in consonance with the .demands of every age

The arguments contained in the works of the scholars belonging to the School of the Ahl al-Bayt (as) are of unique significance. That is because they are based on genuine scholarship and appeal to reason, and avoid prejudice and bias. These arguments address scholars and thinkers in a manner that appeals to healthy minds and .wholesome human nature

To assist the seekers of truth, the Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly has endeavored to present a new phase of these arguments contained in the studies and translations of the works of contemporary Shi'ah writers and those who have embraced this sublime .school of thought through divine blessing

The Assembly is also engaged in edition and publication of the valuable works of leading Shi'ah scholars of earlier ages to assist the seekers of the truth in discovering the truths which the School of the Prophet's Household (as) has offered to the entire .world

The Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly looks forward to benefit from the opinions of the .readers and their suggestions and constructive criticism in this area

We

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also invite scholars, translators and other institutions to assist us in propagating the .(genuine Islamic teachings as preached by the Prophet Muhammad (S

We beseech God, the Most High, to accept our humble efforts and to enable us to enhance them under the auspices of Imām al-Mahdi, His vicegerent on the earth .((may Allah expedite his advent

We express our gratitude to Professor Ayatullah Muḥammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi, the author of the present book, and Mansoor Limba, its translator. We also thank our colleagues who have participated in producing this work, especially the staff of the .Translation Office

Cultural Affairs Department

Ahl al-Bayt (as) World AssemblyAhl al-Bayt (as) World AssemblyAhl al-Bayt (as) World AssemblyAhl al-Bayt (as) World Assembly

Preamble

.In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds. Blessings and peace be on the noblest of His creation, the seal of His messengers, Muhammad, and upon his pure and .distinguished household

The narration of the lord of the martyrs, Abu 'Abdillah, (as), is one of the greatest historical events and the everlasting recollections, which has served as a beacon for mankind. This event teaches that true honour and life lies only in confronting the tyrants, even though it may lead to sacrificing lives and being killed at the hands of the oppressors. Such was the slogan of Imam al-Husayn (as) when he said: "I consider ".death to be nothing but martyrdom, and living with the tyrants as disgusting

Therefore, it is incumbent upon the seekers of eternal

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felicity to keep this event before their eyes and to deal with the despotic rulers of their .time in the manner Imam al-Husayn (as) dealt with them

Because of the importance of this great event, [different] researchers have written numerous books on the martyrdom (maqtal) of the lord of the martyrs (as). The first of these researchers is Lut bin Yahya bin Sa'id, [famously known as] Abu Mikhnaf. He compiled a book in this regard, recounting the events that occurred to al-Husayn, his

children, brothers and companions (as). Shaikh al-Najjashi describes him in his Rijal as "The master of the narrators in Kufah and a leading figure among them."(1)

The eminent scholar, Shaikh Muhammad Hadi al-Yusufi al-Gharawi has undertaken the research and editing of [Abu Mikhnaf's] work. This institute has endevoured to publish this work for the benefit of the seekers of knowledge and virtue. We are grateful to Allah, the Glorious, for granting us success in this regard. We would also like to extend our thanks to the honourable researcher of this work for his great efforts. We pray to Allah to grant this institute and him the tawfiq in spreading the teachings of Islam, as He is, indeed, the Hearing, the Responsive.

The Institute of Islamic Publications Under

The Association of the Instructors (jami'ah al-mudarrisin)

The Holy City of Qum

Introduction

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Man learnt the art of writing, thus he recorded his actions and those of others. Accordingly, history took shape.

At the rise of Islam, history was limited among the Arabs to those who

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1- See Introduction for his biography.

knew the Arab lineage and the events of the days of ignorance (jahiliyyah) by heart. These people were known as the 'most learned' ones.(1)

Al-Nadhr bin al-Harith bin Kaldah was among those considered as the learned ones. He used to travel to cities in Persia where he would purchase books on Persian tales such as those of Rustam and others. He would then use these tales to distract people

:from listening to the Holy Qur’an. The following verse was revealed about him

Among the people is he who buys diversionary talk that he may lead [people] astray“ from Allah’s way, without any knowledge, and he takes it in derision. For such there is a humiliating punishment. And when Our signs are recited to him he turns away disdainfully as if he had not heard them [at all], as if there were a deafness in his (hears. So inform him of a painful punishment.”(٢

Another one among those considered as learned was a man from Madinah called Suwaid bin al-Samit who used to take stories of the past prophets from the Jews. After the advent of the Holy Prophet (S) he had gone to Makkah either for hajj or ‘umrah. There he heard of the Prophet’s mission and went to see him. The Holy Prophet (S) invited him to Allah upon which Suwaid said: “I have with me the code of Luqman.” The Prophet (S) asked him to show it to him and he did that. The Prophet (S) then said: “Indeed this is

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١ - Al-Kulaini reports in al-Kafi (vol.١, pg.٣٢) through his chain of transmission from Imam Musa bin Ja’far (as) who said: “[one day] the Messenger of Allah (S) entered the mosque and saw a group of people gathered around someone, upon which he asked: ‘Who is this?’ ‘A learned one’ he was told. He further enquired: ‘And who is a learned person?’ They replied: ‘The most knowledgeable of people about the Arab lineage and their affairs, the events of the pre-Islamic period and Arab poetry.’ Imam Musa bin Ja’far (as) says that here the Prophet (S) remarked: ‘This is a kind of knowledge which neither harms one who is ignorant of it, nor does it benefit one who knows it.’ The Prophet (S) then went on to say: ‘True knowledge is of three kinds: a concrete verse (ayatun muhkamah), a righteous precept (faridhatun ‘adilah) and an established ”.tradition (sunnatun qaimah). All else is superfluous

٢ - Qur’an, ٣١:٦-٧; Tafsir al-Qumi (٢:١٦١; Najaf edition) and Tafsir Ibn ‘Abbas (pg.٣٤٤; .(Egypt edition

a fine speech, but that which I have is better than this; the Qur’an revealed onto me

(by Allah; a guidance and a light."(1

Among such narrations are the pre-Islamic reports about the prophets and the past nations related by al-Tabari and Muhammad bin Ishaq, whose chains of transmission end up with the phrase: 'some of the learned among the Jews'.

Islam rose and brought with it the Qur'an; a book and a reading recited during hours of the night and parts of the day. So the need arose for people to record it and for others to memorize it. Thus the Holy Qur'an was put on paper during the time of the Holy Prophet (S) as others committed it to memory.

After the demise of the Prophet (S) a group of those who had submitted to him during his lifetime turned back from Islam. This prompted his companions to fight the apostates. As a result, more than three hundred companions(2) were killed in the battle of Yamamah alone. Following this, they felt the need for recording the traditions (hadith).

However, there was a difference of opinion in this regard. Some of the companions held that it was allowed to record the hadith, while others advocated its prohibition. The idea of prohibition gained more ground because of the ban on the recording of the hadith by the first(3), the second(4) and the third(5) caliphs. The effect of such a prohibition and dislike continued up until the second century H when the Muslims unanimously agreed

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۱ - Al-Tabari (۲:۳۵۳; Dar al-Ma'arif publications) and Tarikh al-Ya'qubi (۲:۳۰; Najaf edition).

۲- Al-Tabari (۳:۲۶۹).

۳- Tadhkirah al-Huffa¨ (۱:۳۵).

۴- Tadhkirah al-Huffa¨ (۱:۳,۴۷); al-Bukhari (vol.۶, bab al-istidhan) and Tabaqat of Ibn Sa'd (۲:۲۰۶).

۵- Musnad Ahmad (۱:۳۶۳). Regarding this see also al-Sunnah qabl al-Tadwin on the legitimacy of recording the hadith.

The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali bin Abi Talib (as), always considered the recording of hadith as legal. The first thing he recorded was the Book of Allah, the Almighty. Immediately after the Prophet’s burial, he had vowed not to put on his cloak, except for prayers, until after he has collected the Holy Qur’an. He consequently collected it according to its chronological order, also pointing out the general (‘amm) and the restricted (khass) verses of it; the absolute (mutlaq) and the qualified (muqayyad); the clear (mubayyan) and the unclear (mujmal); the concrete (muhkam) and the .(ambiguous (mutashabih); and the abrogating (nasikh) and the abrogated (mansukh

He also made distinct the verses after whose recital prostration becomes obligatory from those which are otherwise. There was also a mention of the manners and norms that have appeared in it, together with the cases of revelation (sha’n al-nuzul). He had also clarified in this collection all that which might have seemed difficult in some .respect

He also composed a work on blood money after the collection of the Holy Qur’an which was then known as ‘Sahifah’. Ibn Sa‘d has brought this work at the end of his book famously known as al-Jami’. Al-Bukhari also narrates from this particular work in a number of places in his Sahih, for instance in the beginning of the first volume of .(Kitab al-‘Ilm (Book of Knowledge

A group of his adherents at that time followed him in collecting the hadith. Among them

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was Abu Rafi’ Ibrahim al-Qibti and his two sons: ‘Ali and ‘Ubaidullah. ‘Ubaidullah has a book in which he lists those who participated in the battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan.(١) Hence, this is the first book in history to be written by a follower of .(Imam ‘Ali (as

Similarly, the Shi‘ah have preceded the rest of the Muslims in historiography. The works of Muhammad bin al-Saib al-Kalbi (d.١۴۶ H), Abu Mikhnaf Lut (d.١۵٨ H), Hisham

(al-Kalbi (d.۲۰۶ H) and others are all among the sources of Islamic history.(۲

'Karbala

It was in Karbala' that the event made perpetual by history took place; the event which terminated the life of the great Imam, the grandson of the Holy Prophet (S) and the lord of the martyrs, Abu 'Abdillah al-Husayn (as).

This tragic event that took place in ۶۱ H, similar to the narrations of the battles in the early period of Islam, was passed from mouth to mouth from those who had either witnessed the battle itself, or the events before or after it. It was not until the second century H when Abu Mikhnaf Lut bin Yahya bin Sa'id bin Mikhnaf bin Salim al-Azdi al-Ghamidi al-Kufi(۳) undertook the collection of these oral accounts in a book which he named Kitab Maqtal al-Husayn (as) as it has appeared in the list of his works. This is the first book ever to be written on the history of this great event.

Hisham bin Muhammad bin al-Saib al-Kalbi al-Kufi al-Nassabah(۴) was another personality from Kufah who studied

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۱- Rijal al-Najjashi (pg.۱-۵; India edition) and al-Fihrist (pg.۱۲۲; Najaf edition).
۲- See Mu'allifi al-Shi'ah fi al-Islam, al-Shi'ah wa Funun al-Islam, Ta'sis al-Shi'ah li 'Ulum al-Islam (pg.۹۱-۲۸۷), A'yan al-Shi'ah (۱:۸-۱۴۸) and al-Ghadir (۶:۲۹۰-۲۹۷).
۳- Fawat al-Wafayat (۲:۱۴۰) and al-A'lam of al-Zarqali (۳:۸۲۱)
۴- Muruj al-Dhahab (۴:۲۴; Egypt edition).

the reports on Islamic history under the tutelage of Abu Mikhnaf. Hisham used to read the books of Abu Mikhnaf to him and then make a copy from them. He would then relate the content of his writings on the authority of his master saying: 'Abu Mikhnaf Lut bin Yahya al-Azdi narrated to me from...'

Among the works that Hisham reproduced from his master, read onto him and related from him was a book on the Maqtal (martyrdom) of al-Husayn (as) as has been recorded in the list of his works. However, Hisham did not limit himself in his book on

the Maqtal of al-Husayn (as) only to the narrations of his master Abu Mikhnaf, but he also included in it narrations from his other master in history named ‘Awanah bin al-Hakam (d.۱۵۸ H).

It is, however, evident for anyone who refers to the historical works of the early period of Islam that all other historians have entirely depended on their reports on these two earlier outstanding scholars, especially on Abu Mikhnaf as he was nearer in time to the events and so used to relate them in a detailed and precise manner.

Many historians have incorporated in their historical writings an abridged version of his works. This shows that his works were existent during their times. Some of these historians are: Muhammad bin ‘Umar al-Waqidi (d.۲۰۷ H); al-Tabari (d.۳۱۰ H); Ibn Qutaibah (d.۳۲۲ H) in his book al-Imamah wa al-Siyasah; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andulusi (d.۳۲۸ H) in al-‘Aqd al-Farid when he discusses

the thaqifah; ‘Ali bin al-Husayn al-Mas’udi (d.۳۴۵ H) when he mentions ‘Urwah bin al-Zubair’s apology on behalf of his brother, ‘Abd al-Allah, for threatening the Banu Hashim with fire as they refused to pay allegiance to the latter; Shaikh al-Mufid (d.۴۱۳ H) in al-Irshad when discussing the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as), and in al-Nusrah fi Harb al-Basrah; al-Shahristani (d.۵۴۸ H) in al-Milal wa al-Nihal when mentioning the sect of NaZZamiyyah; Khatib al-Khwarazmi (d.۵۶۸ H) in his work on the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as); Ibn al-Athir al-Jazri (d.۶۳۰ H) in al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh; and Sibt al-Jawzi (d.۶۵۴ H) in Tadhkirah al-Khawass.

In our observation, the last among the historians to have cited Abu Mikhnaf, without any reference to other book or narrator, which apparently indicates that he must have been quoting directly from his work, is Abu al-Fida’ (d.۷۳۲ H) in his Tarikh.

Presently, we do not know of any of the existing works of Abu Mikhnaf in general, nor of his work on Maqtal in particular. Apparently all these works are lost and only some scattered reports from them have remained in the works of historians previously cited.

The oldest text known to us [today] from among those who have been quoting in their works the narrations of Hisham al-Kalbi from Abu Mikhnaf, is the Tarikh of Abu Ja'far Muhammad bin Jarir al-Tabari (d.۳۱۰ H). He did not, however, compose an independent work on these narrations, rather he just mentions the event of Karbala' beside the events of the year ۶۰ and ۶۱

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Moreover, he does not narrate them directly from Hisham, instead he relates them from his works and in order to strengthen his case he would say 'I narrate this from Hisham bin Muhammad', but he does not specify who related to him from Hisham. What leads us to believe that Tabari was not a contemporary of Hisham and therefore could not have heard him personally, is the comparison between the year Tabari was born (b.۲۲۴ H) and the year in which al-Kalbi passed away (d.۲۰۶ H). Besides that, Tabari has clearly asserted to have been narrating from the works of Hisham when mentioning the event of Harrah where he says: "This is how I have found it in (my book..."(۲

Another earliest text, after al-Tabari, which directly draws reports from Hisham al-Kalbi's work, is Kitab al-Irshad of Shaikh al-Mufid (d.۴۱۳ H). He says before relating the reports of Karbala' that: "[This is] a selection of the reports...which al-Kalbi has (narrated..."(۳

After that comes Tadhkirat al-Ummah bi Khasa'is al-A'immah of Sibt ibn al-Jawzi (d.۶۵۴ H). He clearly states to have narrated many of his reports about Imam al-Husayn (as) from Hisham al-Kalbi.

Comparing the reports of al-Tabari with those of al-Mufid and Ibn al-Jawzi, we find many similarities between these reports except in case of some letters or words (such as waw in the place of fa' or vice versa), as the reader shall see in the course of this work.

The books of history do not mention his birthdate. But Shaikh al-Tusi (r), quoting

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.(Al-Tabari (۵:۳۳۸-۴۶۷ -۱

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۸۷): Among the other things that lead us to this is also the fact that -۲ Tabari names some of the personalities in a different way. This implies that he did not hear these names [directly] from their narrators. For instance, in the case of Muslim bin al-Musayyab, he mentions him by this name in two places [of his book], and in another two places he calls him as Silm bin al-Musayyab, whereas both refer to the same person as it appears in the report about Mukhtar.

.(Kitab al-Irshad (pg.۲۰۰; Najaf edition -۳

from al-Kashhi (r), places [Abu Mikhnaf] in his Rijal in the category of those who have narrated from the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali (as). Al-Tusi then says: "In my opinion, this is not correct; for Lut bin Yahya did not meet Amir al-Mu'minin (as), rather his father, Yahya, was among his companions."(۱) However, al-Tusi has not mentioned his father, Yahya, among the companions of 'Ali (as) either, instead he considers his grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Salim al-Azdi, to be among his companions and (says: "[He was the son of 'Aishah's aunt. He was an Arab, from Kufah."(۲

It should be noted, however, that al-Tusi quoted the above piece of information from al-Kashhi's work, and not directly from him; as al-Kashhi lived in the ۳rd century H, while al-Tusi was born in ۳۸۵ H. This work of al-Kashhi was titled Ma'rifat al-Naqilin 'an al-A'immah al-Sadiqin, as reported by Ibn Shahrashub in Ma'alim al-'Ulama'.(۳) This book is now lost, and, based on what Sayyid bin Tawus has stated in Faraj al-Mahmum, only that part of it has remained which was selected by Shaikh al-Tusi in the year ۴۵۶ H.(۴) [But] what al-Tusi has quoted from al-Kashhi that Abu Mikhnaf was among the companions of 'Ali (as), is not found in this selection of al-Tusi.

In his Rijal, al-Tusi has mentioned Abu Mikhnaf to be one of the companions of Imam al-Hasan (as)(۵), and then among the companions of Imam al-Husayn (as)(۶) and thereafter he mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam

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.(Rijal al-Tusi (pg.٥٧; Najaf edition -١
.Ibid, pg.٥٨ -٢
.(Ma'alim al-'Ulama' (pg.١٥٢; Najaf edition -٣
.(Faraj al-Mahmum (pg.١٣٠; Najaf edition -۴
.(Rijal al-Tusi (pg.٧٠ -۵
.Ibid, pg.٧٩ -۶

al-Sadiq (as).(١) [However,] he has neither mentioned him to be among the .(companions of Imam 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as), nor among those of Imam al-Baqir (as

Al-Tusi has quoted al-Kashhi's assertion in his [another] work called al-Fihrist also. There he says: "The correct view is that his father, [Yahya], was among the companions of 'Ali (as), though the former did not meet him."(٢) He then goes on to mention his chain of narration from Abu Mikhnaf through Hisham bin Muhammad bin .al-Sa'ib al-Kalbi and Nasr bin Muzahim al-Minqari

Al-Najjashi mentions Abu Mikhnaf in his Rijal and says: "Lut bin Yahya bin Sa'id bin Mikhnaf bin Sulaim(٣) al-Azdi al-Ghamidi, [known as] Abu Mikhnaf, the master of the narrators in Kufah and the most prominent of them. He was reliable in his narrations. He has narrated [reports] from Ja'far bin Muhammad (as). It is said that he has narrated from Abu Ja'far [al-Baqir (as)] also, which is not correct."(۴) Al-Najjashi then lists his works, among them being the book on the maqtal of al-Husayn (as). He then mentions his [own] chain of narration from Abu Mikhnaf through Hisham bin .Muhammad bin al-Sa'ib al-Kalbi

With the [above] citations, we have so far presented the opinion of three out of four of our primary works in Rijal regarding Abu Mikhnaf, without there being any mention of .the dates of his birth and death

The Family of Abu Mikhnaf as Reported by Tabari

Regarding the companions (sahabah) who passed away in the year ٨٠ H, Tabari writes

in his book Dhayl al-Mudhayyal: "[Among them was] Mikhnaf bin Sulaim

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1- Ibid, pg.۲۷۹.

2- Al-Fihrist of Shaikh al-Tusi (pg.۱۵۵; Najaf edition).

3- It is strange that he names him as such and then attributes to him the book called Akhbar Al Mikhnaf bin Sulaim! This is likely to have been the error of the copyist.

4- Rijal a-Najjashi (pg.۲۲۴; India lithographic edition).

bin al-Harith... Ibn Ghamid bin al-Azd... Mikhnaf professed Islam and accompanied the Prophet (S). He was the chief of the house of Azd in Kufah and he had three brothers: 'Abd Shams -who was killed in the battle of Al-Nukhailah, Saq'ab and 'Abdullah -both of whom were killed in the battle of Jamal. Lut bin Yahya bin Sa'id bin Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was among the descendents of Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, from whom people used to narrate historical events.(1)

Tabari mentions [Mikhnaf bin Sulaim] in the reports of the battle of Basrah [i.e.Jamal], but not through Abu Mikhnaf. He says: "Mikhnaf bin Sulaim al-Azdi was in command of [the tribes of] Bajilah, Anmar, Khath'am and Azd."(2)

There is no indication in the [above] two citations that Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was killed in the battle of Jamal. However, Tabari has related another report about the battle of Jamal from Abu Mikhnaf, who related from his uncle, Muhammad bin Mikhnaf, saying: "A number of elders of the tribe, all of whom were present in the battle of Jamal, have related to me that: the standard of the Azd from Kufah was with Mikhnaf bin Sulaim. He was killed on that day, so the standard was held by two of his family members, Saq'ab and his brother 'Abdullah bin Sulaim, who were also killed by the people."(3)

This report is in agreement with what Tabari has mentioned in Dhayl al-Mudhayyal regarding the death of the two brothers of Mikhnaf, Saq'ab and 'Abdullah. Perhaps he narrated it from

Al-Matbu’ ma’a al-Tarikh (۱۳:۳۶; Dar al-Qamus Publications and ۱۱:۵۴۷; Dar -۱ .(Suwaidan Publications

.(Al-Tabari (۴:۵۰۰; Dar al-Ma’arif Publications -۲

.(Ibid, (۴:۵۰۰ -۳

his Tarikh. However, it differs from what has appeared in Dhayl al-Mudhayyal on the death of Mikhnaf bin Sulaim; for according to the [above] report, he was killed in Jamal, and this contradicts what Tabari has related [in al-Dhayl] -in the reports of [the battle of] Siffin- on the authority of al-Kalbi from Abu Mikhnaf himself. Abu Mikhnaf says: “My father, Yahya bin Sa’id, related to me from his uncle, Muhammad bin Mikhnaf who said: ‘I was with my father, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, on that day [i.e. in Siffin] (and I was only seventeen years old...”(۱

Tabari also reports from al-Kalbi who said: “Harith bin Hasirah al-Azdi related to me from some elders of [the tribe of] Namir and Azd that Mikhnaf [disliked] the invitation (from the [fellow tribe of] Azd in Sham...”(۲

He also related from al-Madaini (d. ۲۲۵) and ‘Awanah bin al-Hakam (d. ۱۵۸) -who was narrating through his chain of narration from an elder of the Banu Fazarah: “Mu’awiyah dispatched Nu’man bin Bashir [al-Ansari] with two thousand men. They raided ‘Ain al-Tamr while the governer of ‘Ali, [Malik bin Ka’b] al-Arhabi, was in the city with three hundred soldiers. So he wrote to ‘Ali (as) asking him for help.” [Malik] also wrote to Mikhnaf bin Sulaim who was nearer, requesting him for assistance. So Mikhnaf sent to him his son, ‘Abd al-Rahman, with fifty other men and they joined Malik and his followers... When the Syrians saw them, they thought that Malik has a [good] support, so they felt

.(Ibid, (۴:۵۴۲ -۱

.(Ibid, (۵:۲۶ -۲

(defeated and fled.”(۱

All these narrations clearly attest to the fact that Abu Mikhnaf's [great] grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, was alive after the battle Jamal, rather even after the battle of Siffin; as the raids of Mu'awiyah took place in the year ٣٩ H, that is after the battle of Siffin (٣٨ H). In contrary, the narration [that states that he was killed in Jamal] is a lone report. However, [it seems that] Tabari did not realize this fact and therefore did not comment on this, though he has clearly stated in Dhayl al-Mudhayyal that Mikhnaf lived till the year ٨٠ H.(٢)

The Family of Abu Mikhnaf as Reported by Nasr bin Muzahim al-Minqari

Apart from al-Tabari, there are other sources as well in which we find [evidences] that show that Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was alive [even] after the battles of Jamal and Siffin. Nasr bin Muzahim al-Minqari (d.٢١٢ H) relates in his book Waq'at Siffin on the authority of Yahya bin Sa'id from Muhammad bin Mikhnaf who said: "'Ali (as) looked at my father –after his return from Basrah– and said: '...but Mikhnaf bin Sulaim and his people did not lag behind...'"(٣)

[Nasr] also says: "Our companions have said: "[Ali (as)] appointed Mikhnaf bin Sulaim] as the governor of Isfahan and Hamadan and dismissed from them Jarir bin 'Abdullah al-Bajali..."(٤)

He also reports: "When ['Ali (as)] wanted to advance towards Sham, he wrote [a letter] to [all] his governers. The letter that he sent to Mikhnaf was written by 'Ubaidullah bin Abi Rafi' [in the year ٣٧ H]. Mikhnaf put in his position two men

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١- Ibid, (٥:١٣٣).

٢- Dhayl al-Mudhayyal (١١:٥۴٧; Dar Suwaidan Publications), quoting from al-Tabari.

٣- Waq'at Siffin (pg.٨; al-Madani Publications).

۴- Ibid, (pg.١١).

from his kinsmen and set out for Siffin, where he fought alongside 'Ali (as)."(١)

In another report] he says: "Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was in charge of the Azd, Bajilah, the]

Ansar and Khuza'ah";(۲) and also that: "[Mikhnaf] was accompanying 'Ali (as) in Babylon."(۳)

He narrates from the elders of Azd that: "When the men of Azd in Iraq were invited by the members of Azd in Sham, Mikhnaf disliked the [invitation] and it was unbearable for him. So he addressed [his people], expressing to them his aversion and dislike."(۴)

We have much to derive from the narration of Abu Mikhnaf from his father's uncle, Muhammad bin Mikhnaf, in which he says: "I was with my father, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, on the day [of Siffin] while I was seventeen years old."(۵)

It is evident from this report that Sa'id was younger than his brother, Muhammad, and for this [very] reason he could not participate in [the battle of] Siffin. Therefore, he was relating the news about Siffin from his brother, Muhammad. The [above] report also implies that Muhammad bin Mikhnaf was born in the year ۲۰ H. Based on this, his brother Sa'id -the grandfather of Lut- must have been born around this [time]. Accordingly, [it is] Sa'id, the grandfather of Lut, [who] should be among the companions of 'Ali (as) and not even his father, Yahya.

Thus, we can assume, at the least, that Sa'id married and fathered a child, Yahya, when he was twenty years of age, that is in the year ۴۰ H.(۶)

۱- Ibid, (pg.۱۰۴).

۲- Ibid, (pg.۱۱۷).

۳- Ibid, (pg.۱۳۵).

۴- Ibid, (pg.۲۶۲). According to Taqrib al-Tahdhib: "He was martyred with the followers of Tawwabin at 'Ain al-Wardah in ۶۴ H!" which is [absolutely] incorrect.

۵- Al-Tabari (۴:۲۴۶).

۶- In this case, how can Yahya, the father of Abu Mikhnaf, be among the companions of 'Ali (as) as claimed by Shaikh al-Tusi in two of his books?! Al-Fadhil al-Ha'iri pointed out to this fact before us in his book Muntaha al-Maqal. He proves [in this book] that Abu Mikhnaf never met Amir al-Mu'minin (as). He [also] regards the opinion of al-Tusi

that Yahya -the father of Lut- met ‘Ali (as), as weak; for it was his father’s grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, who was among the companions of ‘Ali (as), as it has been stated by al-Tusi himself and others. Al-Hairi further says: “This [i.e. Mikhnaf bin Sulaim was among the companions of ‘Ali (as)] should prove for al-Tusi that Lut did not see [‘Ali (as)], as it also weakens the possibility of his father, Yahya, to have met [‘Ali (as)].” That Abu Mikhnaf should be among the companions of Amir al-Mu’minin (as) -as mentioned by al-Kashhi- is, therefore, impossible. Likewise, there is no room for Shaikh al-Ghifari’s argument, which he has put forward in the introduction of his Maqtal, for there being a possibility of Abu Mikhnaf to have met even his father’s grandfather, i.e. Mikhnaf bin Sulaim. This is by assuming that Lut was then fifteen years old, while his father, Yahya, was thirty-five and his grandfather Sa’id, fifty-five and his great grandfather, Mikhnaf bin Sulaim, seventy-five. But this [assumption] cannot be correct if we take into consideration the report of Abu Mikhnaf from his father’s uncle, Muhammad bin Mikhnaf, that the latter was seventeen years old [during] the battle of Siffin, and that his brother, Sa’id, was younger than him. It was for this [very] reason that [Abu Mikhnaf] relates the report from [Sa’id’s] brother, Muhammad, [and not from Sa’id himself]. Based on this, the age of Sa’id must have, then, been about fifteen years and not fifty-five [as it has appeared in al-Ghifari’s argument].

In this case, there is, definitely, no question of the existence of Lut yet, nor of considering Yahya to be among the companions of ‘Ali (as).

Let us take it for granted [again] that Yahya also married and fathered a child, Lut at the age of twenty, that is in the year ۶۰ H. This is the least we can assume. [Now] let us presume also that [Lut] began to listen to the reports [from his masters] when he was twenty, i.e. in the year ۸۰ H, and he managed to compile his work within a period of twenty years or so, meaning that he must have finished compiling the book toward the end of the first century H.

However, it is very improbable that he could have compiled this book and read it to others during this period after taking into consideration that the recording of hadith, let alone history, was still disagreeable, but rather prohibited; and that the power was

still in the hands of the Banu Marwan, the Umayyads; and that the atmosphere was that of fear and dissimulation (taqiyyah) for the Shi'ah and [those narrating] reports .about them

Instead] there is an indication that Abu Mikhnaf compiled this work of his around the] year ۱۳۰ H. For in his report about the arrival of Muslim bin 'Aqil in Kufah, [he says that Muslim] was residing in the house of Mukhtar bin Abi 'Ubaid al-Thaqafi. He then says: "...This is the house which is known today as the house of

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Muslim bin Musayyab." Since Ibn Musayyab was, in the year ۱۲۹ H, the governer of Ibn 'Umar in Shiraz, as reported in al-Tabari (۷:۳۷۲), [we conclude that the above book must have been compiled around this time]. [In fact,] this was the time when the power of the Umayyads had become weak and the Banu 'Abbas were inviting people towards Imam al-Ridha (as), asking [them] to rise and revenge for the blood of al-Husayn (as) and his household.

And who knows, may be the adherents of the Banu 'Abbas had asked Abu Mikhnaf to compile the reports on the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as) inorder to back their call. But after they had achieved their motives, they deserted him and his work as they .deserted the Ahl al-Bait (as) after that and even fought against them

The Works of Abu Mikhnaf

:Shaikh al-Najjashi has mentioned the following books as belonging to Abu Mikhnaf

Kitab al-Maghazi, Kitab al-Riddah, Kitab Futuh al-Islam, Kitab Futuh al-'Iraq, Kitab Futuh Khurasan, Kitab al-Shura, Kitab Qatl 'Uthman, Kitab al-Jamal, Kitab Siffin, Kitab al-Hakamain, Kitab al-Nahrawan, Kitab al-Gharat, Kitab Akhbar Muhammad bin Abi Bakr, Kitab Maqtal Muhammad bin Abi Bakr, Kitab Maqtal Amir al-Mu'minin (as), Kitab Akhbar Ziyad, Kitab Maqtal Hujr bin 'Adiyy, Kitab Maqtal al-Hasan (as), Kitab Maqtal al-Husayn (as), Kitab Akhbar al-Mukhtar, Kitab Akhbar Ibn al-Hanafiyyah, Kitab Akhbar al-Hajjaj bin Yusuf al-Thaqafi, Kitab Akhbar Yusuf bin 'Umair, Kitab Akhbar Shabib al-Kharijiyy, Kitab Akhbar Mutarraf bin Mughirah bin Shu'bah, Kitab Akhbar al-

.Huraith bin al-Asadi al-Naji and Kitab Akhbar Al Mikhnaf bin Sulaim

Al-Najjashi then mentions his

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(link to these works and says: "...from his student Hisham al-Kalbi.(١

Shaikh al-Tusi ascribes to him some of the books mentioned above in his al-Fihrist and adds: "He has [also] a book called Kitab Khutbah al-Zahra' (as)." He then states his (link to these works.(٢

Ibn al-Nadim has listed to his credit some of these works in al-Fihrist, including [his .(work on] the maqtal of al-Husayn (as

It is noticeable from the list of his works that Abu Mikhnaf directed much of his efforts in compiling the reports about the Shi'ah in general, and those about Kufah in particular. There does not appear, in the above list, any book on reports about the Banu Umayyah or the Banu Marwan. Nor is there any book on the revolt of Abu Muslim al-Khurasani or the Abbasid rule. This is taking into consideration that he passed away twenty five years after all these events, in the year ١٥٨ H. Not only this, but his last book, according to the list of his works, was the one on Hajjaj bin Yusuf al-Thaqafi whose reports ended by his death in ٩٥ H.

However, in his Tarikh Tabari relates reports from [Abu Mikhnaf] up until the end of (the rule of the Umayyads, and to be specific, till the events of the year ١٣٢ H.(٣

It is evident from his reports which are scattered in several of his books, especially in al-Tabari, that [Abu Mikhnaf] often narrates [reports] either from his father, or uncle, or one of his cousins, or from

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.(Rijal al-Najjashi (pg.٢٢۴; India lithographic edition -١

.(Al-Fihrist of al-Tusi (pg.١۵۵; Najaf edition -٢

Events about the revolt of Muhammad bin Khalid in Kufah in ۱۳۲ H. See: al-Tabari -۳
.((۷:۴۱۷

his elders within the tribe of Azd in Kufah. This leads us to the fact that it was the abundance of reports within his tribe that prompted him to gather and compile books from them. This is why we find him limiting himself to the reports of the people of .Kufah, to the extent that he was considered the most learned of them in this regard

(His Faith (madhhab) and Reliability (withaqah

It is [quite] obvious from his reports generally that he has not directly narrated, even a single report, from Imam Zain al-'Abidin (as) (d.۹۵ H) nor from Imam al-Baqir (as) (d.۱۱۵ H). Rather, he has narrated from Imam al-Baqir (as) through one person(۱) and from Imam 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as) through two links.(۲) He has a few direct reports (from Imam al-Sadiq (as) (d.۱۴۸ H).(۳

The above facts prove what al-Najjashi said: "It is said that he related [reports] from Abu Ja'far (as), but it is not correct."(۴) [Abu Mikhnaf] has not narrated from Imam Musa bin Ja'far al-KaZim (as), though he lived after Imam al-Sadiq (as) and was a contemporary of al-KaZim (as) for ten years. For this very reason no one has counted .(him to be among the companions of al-KaZim (as

All this may lead us to the fact that [Abu Mikhnaf] was not a Shi'ah in the technical sense of the word and whom the Ahl al-Sunnah term as the rafidhi, nor was he among the companions of the Aimmah (as) as such. Rather, he was a Shi'ah in the sense that he

.(See the report on the martyrdom of the infant of al-Husayn (as) (۵:۴۴۸ -۱
.(See the narration about the night of 'Ashura' (۵:۴۸۸ -۲
.(See the report on the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as) (۵:۴۵۳ -۳
.(Rijal al-Najjashi (pg.۲۲۴; India lithographic edition -۴

had personal inclinations [towards them] like most of the other people in Kufah,

.without having rejected the faith of the majority of the Muslims at that time

What may back the above fact is that none among the Ahl al-Sunnah has accused him of being a rafidhi in their sense of the word; for according to them one who is simply inclined towards the Ahl al-Bait (as) [without having even professed their school of thought], is considered a Shi'ah. But a person who is known [to them] to have been following the Ahl al-Bait (as) in his beliefs, then they not only consider him to be a Shi'ah, but they also accuse him of rafdh. This is the difference between the two .terms according to their terminology

Regarding the reliability of Abu Mikhnaf,] al-Dhahabi says: "A corrupt and unreliable] narrator. Abu Hatim and others have rejected him. According to Ibn Ma'in, he is not reliable. He has also said elsewhere that he is of no importance. According to Ibn ('Adiyy, he is a fanatic Shi'ah and the narrator of their reports."(١

Notice that] none of the [above Sunni] authorities have accused Abu Mikhnaf of rafdh.] This is at a time when they used to charge with rafdh anyone who was proven to be a .follower of the Ahl al-Bait (as) school of thought

Ibn Abi al-Hadid states this clearly when he says: "Abu Mikhnaf is among the narrators (muhaddithin) and among those who hold that the legitimacy of [the divine] leadership (imamah) is realized

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.(Mizan al-I'tidal (٣:۴٢٠; Aleppo edition -١

only] through [the divine] designation. He is not a Shi'ah, nor is he counted to be] (among their outstanding figures."(١

The above passage has been quoted by Sayyid al-Sadr in his Ta'sis al-Shi'ah li 'Ulum al-Islam. He then comments on it saying: "I would say: they do not accuse him of something other than tashayyu', which does not, according to their [own] scholars, contradict [his] being reliable. The great Sunni scholars, such as Abu Jarir al-Tabari

and Ibn al-Athir, have relied on him. Especially Abu Jarir who has filled his Tarikh al-Kabir with the narrations of Abu Mikhnaf."(۲)

Imam Sharafuddin (r) has devoted one whole chapter in al-Muraja'at in which he enumerates one hundred Shiite personalities found in the Sunni chains of narration (isnad), but also in their Sihah, specifying the places [where these names have appeared].(۳)

In brief, there is no room for any doubt about his not being a Shi'ah and the follower of the Imamiyyah school of thought as it has been rightly asserted by Ibn Abi al-Hadid. Yes, some of the Sunni scholars consider him to be a Shi'ah, [but] based on what they are accustomed to [in calling] one who expresses love and sympathy for the Ahl al-Bait (as) [as a Shi'ah].

None of the past Shiite scholars have declared him to be a Shi'ah. Al-Najjashi (may Allah have mercy on him), who is an expert in this discipline [i.e. in rijal], describes Abu Mikhnaf only by saying: "He was the master (shaikh) of the narrators in Kufah", not

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۱- Ta'sis al-Shi'ah (pg.۲۳۵; Baghdad edition).

۲- Ibid, (pg.۲۳۵). He says: "I have counted the number of instances where Tabari has narrated [reports] from Abu Mikhnaf. I found them to be around ۴۰۰ instances, as it appears in the index of names in al-Tabari (Dar al-Ma'arif Publications). The last of these narrations is in (۷:۴۱۷) which is pertaining to the revolt of Muhammad bin Khalid in Kufah in ۱۳۲ H."

۳- Al-Muraja'at (ch.۱۶-۱۷, pg.۵۲-۱۱۸, Dar al-Sadiq publications).

'the master of our scholars', and not even 'the master of the narrators of our reports'.

There is nothing surprising about the fact that [on the one hand] Ibn Abi al-Hadid clearly states this fact, and [on the other hand] he narrates from him poems (arjaz) which he recited in the battle of Jamal on the succession of 'Ali (as) to the Prophet (S); for narrating these verses implies only that he was a Shi'ah, [in the sense that he was]

sympathetic [towards the Ahl al-Bait (as)], not that he was an adherent of the Imamiyyah sect. Many Sunni scholars have been [normally] relating the like of these .verses too

In conclusion, there is no doubt that Abu Mikhnaf was a Shi'ah, but there is no evidence that he was, beside this, a follower of the Ahl al-Bait school of thought .((imami

The best of what our scholars have said regarding him are the words of praise from al-Najjashi. He says: "He was the master of the narrators in Kufah and outstanding amongst them. One could rely on what he narrated." These words are noteworthy as they establish his probity. This is why his reports have been considered as agreeable .(hasan) in [the texts of Rijal such as] al-Wajizah, al-Bulghah, al-Hawi and other works

Hisham al-Kalbi

Shaikh al-Najjashi has mentioned him [in his book] together with his lineage. He then says: "He was well versed with the [historical] events, well-known for his righteousness and knowledge. He entirely belonged to our faith (madhhab). He has related

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the famous narration that says: "I was afflicted with a serious illness as a result of which I forgot all I knew. So I went to Ja'far bin Muhammad (as) and he made me drink knowledge in a cup and I thus regained my knowledge.' Abu 'Abdillah [al-Sadiq (as)] used to bring him closer to himself and encourage him. [Hisham] has many (books."(۱

Al-Najjashi then lists his works and mentions his sources for obtaining them. Among the books he lists is Maqtal al-Husayn. This is, perhaps, [the collection of] either all the .reports or most of them which he narrated from his master Abu Mikhnaf

It is, however, strange that in his selections from Rijal al-Kashhi, Shaikh al-Tusi quotes al-Kashhi as saying: "Al-Kalbi was a Sunni, though he had great affection and

love [for the Ahl al-Bait (as)]. It has also been said that al-Kalbi was practicing (dissimulation (taqiyyah) and he was not a Sunni."(٢)

Shaikh al-Tusi does not mention [Hisham] in his al-Rijal nor in al-Fihrist, except as a link to Abu Mikhnaf's works.(٣) The reason behind this may be that [those of] his works which are related to the history of the Shi'ah are, [in fact], what he has narrated from his master Abu Mikhnaf [i.e. he just served as a link to what Abu Mikhnaf had said]. Otherwise, the rest of his books do not contain what is related to the history of the .Shi'ah

Many of the Sunni historians and experts in biographies have attested to his knowledge, [good] memory

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.(Rijal al-Najjashi (pg.٣٠٥: India lithographic edition -١

Rijal al-Tusi (pg.٣٩٠, hadith no.٧٣٣; Mashad edition). It is evident that, in case of - ٢ difference of opinion [between scholars of rijal about a personality], our scholars of rijal would prefer the view of al-Najjashi [over the others]. Shahid al-Thani [Zain al-Din al-'Amili] writes in al-Masalik: "What is apparent about al-Najjashi is that he is the most precise (adhbat) of the people [i.e. the experts in rijal] and the most acquainted of them about the status of the narrators." His grandson says in Sharh al-Istibsar: "Al-Najjashi has precedence over Shaikh [al-Tusi] in such cases as it is known through experience." His master, Muhaqqiq al-Astarabadi says in Al-Rijal Al-Kabir when mentioning the biography of Sulaiman bin Salih: "The difference in style between Shaikh [al-Tusi] and al-Najjashi is clear, and perhaps the latter is more accurate." Sayyid Bahr al-'Ulum says in al-Fawa'id al-Rijaliyyah: "Ahmad bin 'Ali al-Najjashi was among the reliable masters and the just among the trustworthy. He is one of the main personalities [referred to in matters] of defamation (jurh) and authentication (ta'dil). He is the most learned in this discipline. Our 'Ulama' have unanimously relied on him and referred to him for information about [the narrators]. A group of scholars have explicitly stated his precedence [over the others] by virtue of his unique book in this field, and this view seems to be correct." Writing on the life of Shaikh al-Kashhi, al-

Najjashi says in his book (pg.۳۶۳): "He was an outstanding and reliable personality... and has a book in rijal. Although he was knowledgeable, his book has many mistakes... He was an associate of al-'Ayyashi and has studied under him. He has narrated [information] from weak [sources as well]." Regarding al-'Ayyashi, he says on pg.۲۴۷: "He is reliable and trustworthy. He was among the eminent personalities of the [Shi'ah] sect. He was a Sunni in the beginning, who was then guided [to the Ahl al-Bait school of thought]. He frequently used to narrate from weak [narrators]." It is, therefore, probable that al-Kashhi took this opinion [that al-Kalbi was a Sunni in the beginning] from al-'Ayyashi, for he said with regard [to Hisham] that 'he is a Sunni' since he himself [i.e. al-'Ayyashi] was a Sunni in the beginning. Likewise, he may have [also] taken from him the view that al-Kalbi was hiding his [actual faith] and was ".practicing taqiyyah

.(Rijal al-Tusi (pg.۱۵۵; Najaf edition -۳

and to his being a Shi'ah. Ibn Khalakan says: "He has profusely narrated the historical events [related] to the people and their news. He was the most learned in genealogy. He was among the renowned custodians of the hadith (huffaZ). He died in the year ۲۰۶ (H."(۱

Abu Ahmad bin 'Adiyy writes in al-Kamil: "Al-Kalbi has [narrated] sound traditions (ahadith). His commentary on them is acceptable and through which he is renowned. No one has a longer and more comprehensive exegesis [in this regard] than him. He is given precedence over Muqatil bin Sulaiman since the latter has got vile beliefs. Ibn (Hibban has mentioned him in his al-Thuqat."(۲

The Maqtal Currently in Circulation

A book on the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as) which is ascribed to Abu Mikhnaf is commonly in circulation nowadays among the people and [book] publishers. It is very obvious that this is not the work of Abu Mikhnaf, rather it has been compiled by someone other than Abu Mikhnaf. However, it is not known where and when exactly it was compiled, from whom did the compiler find this book and when was it first ?published

Imam Sharafuddin says: "It is evident that the current book on the martyrdom of [al-Husayn (as)] which is attributed to Abu Mikhnaf contains many such narrations that were not known [even] to Abu Mikhnaf! Indeed, they have been forged in his name. The number of those who have ascribed [false reports] to him (kaddhabah) is large, and this [on its own] attests to his greatness."(٣)

Muhaddith al-Qumi says: "Let it

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١ - Tabari narrates from al-Kalbi in [some] three hundred and thrity places of his Tarikh. But [still] he did not mention his biography in Dhayl al-Mudhayyal. Instead he mentions his father on pg.١٠١ and says: "His grandfather Bishr bin 'Amru al-Kalbi and his sons: al-Saib, 'Ubaid and 'Abd al-Rahman had participated in the battles of Jamal and Siffin along side 'Ali (as).

٢ - Lisan al-Mizan (٢:٣۵٩).

٣ - Mu'allifu al-Shi'ah fi Sadr al-Islam (pg.۴٢; al-Najah Publications).

be known that Abu Mikhnaf has numerous works on [Islamic] history and on the lifestyle [of the Aimmah (as)]. Among them is Maqtal al-Husayn (as) from which [our] great scholars in the past have narrated and have relied on it... Unfortunately it is [now] lost and there does not remain even a single copy of it. With regard to the Maqtal which is in our hands and which is being ascribed to him, it is neither his nor of any [other] reliable historian. Whoever wants to get convinced about this, then let him compare what has appeared in this [present] Maqtal with what Tabari and others have related from him. I have explained this in [my book] Nafas al-Mahmum when talking about Tirimmah bin 'Adiyy. And Allah knows best."(١)

Since I wanted to edit [Abu Mikhnaf's] work, I had to go through this fabricated Maqtal. There is no doubt that this book was compiled by someone other than Abu Mikhnaf [himself]. [But] it is not known who compiled it and when. It appears to me that the compiler must have been an Arab of a later period (muta'akhhirin), who was neither acquainted with history and hadith, nor with the biographies [of the narrators],

not even with the Arabic literature; for in this book he uses words which were used by .the Arabs of the later period in their colloquial language

This book consists of a hundred and fifty narrations, six of which have some missing .(links in their chains of transmission (mursal

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Al-Kuna wa al-Alqab (۱:۱۴۸) and Nafas al-Mahmum (pg.۱۹۵) and its Introduction - ۱ .((pg.۸; Basirah publications

The first one [no.۴۹] from Imam 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as), the second [no.۹۴] from 'Abdullah bin 'Abbas, the third one [no.۸۲] from 'Umarah bin Sulaiman who reported from Humaid bin Muslim, the fourth one [no.۹۶] from a person known as 'Abdullah bin Qais, the fifth report [no.۷۰] from a person called 'Ammar and [the sixth] one [no.۷۰] which has been narrated from al-Kulaini (d.۳۲۹ H) without its chain of narration .(marfu'ah) and which is not found in al-Kafi

After narration no.۱۰۵(۱), he starts relating many [reports] from a person known as Sahl al-Shahrazuri who he considers to have traveled with the Ahl al-Bait (as) from Kufah to Sham [and accompanied them] until their return to Madinah! He [also] relates from this person ۳۱ mursal narrations, mentioning among them the report of Sahl bin (Sa'd al-Sa'idi in the name of Sahl bin Sa'id al-Shahrazuri!(۲

.The remaining ۱۳۸ reports in the book are ascribed to Abu Mikhnaf himself

The Grave Errors of this Maqtal

This book [which is ascribed to Abu Mikhnaf] contains a number of serious mistakes. :They are as follows

In the first line of the first page of this Maqtal, a discerning reader is confronted with .۱ this grave mistake: "Abu Mikhnaf said: 'Abu al-Mundhir Hisham has narrated to us from Muhammad bin Saib al-Kalbi"! Here [we] find that Abu Mikhnaf, who was the teacher of Hisham, is relating from Hisham, his [own] student! Who, in turn, was

!reporting from his father, Muhammad bin al-Saib al-Kalbi

Thus, we can obviously tell how ignorant the compiler of this work was about

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.(Maqtal (pg.١٠٢; Najaf edition -١

.(Ibid, (pg.١٢٣ -٢

(the biographies of the narrators that such an inconsistency remained hidden to him.(١

After three pages we read: "Al-Kulaini relates in a tradition..."(٢) Would that I knew .٢ who was this person relating from al-Kulaini who died in ٣٢٩ H, while Abu Mikhnaf died !in ١٥٨ H! This is at a time when this tradition is not even found in al-Kafi

After a few more pages we find him saying: "He said: '[Yazid] sent the letter to Walid. .٣ It reached him ten days into the month of Sha'ban."(٣) While the historians, including Abu Mikhnaf according to the report of Tabari, unanimously agree that al-Husayn (as) entered Makkah three days after the beginning of Sha'ban! So how can we reconcile !?[between [these two reports

In the case of the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aqil, he is the only writer who reports .۴ that a pit was dug into which [Muslim] fell and he was, thereafter, taken to Ibn Ziyad while his hands were tied up behind his back. He says about this: "The accursed one approached and said to them: 'I will set them a trap! Let us dig a pit on his way and fill it with grass and earth. Then we attack him and retreat from in front of him! I hope (that he will not escape the pit."(۴

Also concerning the martyrdom of Muslim, he is the only one to report [saying]: .۵ "When Muslim and Hani were killed, their news ceased to reach al-Husayn (as). So he !became seriously disturbed

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Sayyid al-Murtadha (r) has related a similar narration in Tanzih al-Anbiya' (pg.١٧١; -١

Qum edition) from someone whom he calls Ibn 'Abbas bin Hisham, who related from his father, and who in turn was narrating from Abu Mikhnaf, who was reporting from Abu al-Kanud 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Ubaid. It is probable that the compiler of the above Maqtal narrated this from this work of al-Murtadha or from someone else, but with additions and distortions!

۲- Maqtal (pg.۷).

۳- Ibid, (pg.۱۱).

۴- Ibid, (pg.۳۵).

He gathered his household... and instructed them to return back to Madinah! They set out moving before him until they entered the city! [Al-Husayn] went to the grave of the Messenger of Allah (S) and clung to it. [There] he bitterly wept and [then] he fell asleep!"(۱)

This report has no source and no trace of it is found at all in any other book.

۶. Regarding the arrival of al-Husayn (as) in Karbala', this writer is alone in reporting that the Imam was riding seven horses and that he dismounted them, and that they [all] stopped and none of them could move further.(۲)

۷. He, again, is the only person to have narrated what Imam 'Ali bin al-Husayn said on the night of 'Ashura' and on the day of [al-Husayn's] arrival in Karbala'.(۳)

۸. He alone has reported that the number of Ibn Sa'd's army in Karbala' was eighty thousand [men]!(۴)

۹. He relates the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain as having been delivered on the day the army [of Ibn Sa'd] arrived in Karbala'. He says in this regard: "He then advanced towards his followers and said: 'O Muhajirin and Ansar! The speech of this accursed dog and his likes should not deceive you!! Indeed, he is not going to attain the intercession (shafa'ah) of Muhammad (S). Verily, the people who kill his offspring and their helpers will be in hell fire forever."!(۵)

۱۰. He is the only one to have narrated the report about the digging of the well by al-

Husayn (as). He

۱- Ibid, (pg.۳۹).

۲- Ibid, (pg.۴۸).

۳- Ibid, (pg.۴۹).

۴- Ibid, (pg.۵۲).

۵- Ibid, (pg.۵۶).

(۱)says: "...But he did not find water in it."(

۱۱. Again he is the only one to have repeated three times the report of the night and the day of 'Ashura'. He mentions in the first the speech of al-Husayn (as) and the [martyrdom] of his brother, 'Abbas (as)! He is alone in saying that: "... ['Abbas] then held the sword with his mouth." He then says: "[Al-Husayn] came to him and carried him on the back of his horse and took him to the tents. He put [his body] there and bitterly wept over him such that everyone present with him began weeping."(۲)

Then he comes back to the night of 'Ashura' and says: "[Al-Husayn] then turned to his companions and said to them: 'O my companions! These people are after me only. So when the night sets in, go away under the cover of its darkness." He then continues: "He spent that night and in the morning..."(۳)

He then, once again, talks about the day of 'Ashura' by narrating another speech of the Imam (as). He is the only person to have mentioned here that al-Husayn (as) sent a messenger to Ibn Sa'd by the name of Anas bin Kahil, whereas, in fact, the [name of the] messenger was Anas bin al-Harth bin Kahil al-Asadi.

He reverts for a third time [and] talks about the night of 'Ashura' and here he relates the famous speech of the Imam (as) to his companions and his household [on that night]. Then he comes back,

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.(Ibid, (pg.۵۷ -۱
.(Ibid, (pg.۵۹ -۲
.(Ibid, (pg.۵۹-۶۰ -۳

(again, to mention the war preparations by al-Husayn (as) and Ibn Sa'd.(۱)

۱۲. He is the only one to mention Ibrahim bin al-Husayn as one of the companions of (Imam al-Husayn.(۲)

۱۳. He mentions Tirimmah [bin al-'Adiyy] as one of those who were martyred along with al-Husayn (as), whereas Tabari relates on the authority of al-Kalbi from Abu Mikhnaf that [Tirimmah] was not present in Karbala' and was [thus] not killed with al-Husayn (as).(۳) Muhaddith al-Qumi [also] has commented on this in his book Nafas al-.(Mahmum (pg. ۱۹۵

۱۴. He mentions some verses in the story of Hurr al-Riyahi which are, in fact, of 'Ubaidullah bin al-Hurr al-Ju'fi, [whom Imam (as) met] at Qasr Banu Muqatil, not realizing that they were not in tune with the conditions Hurr [al-Riyahi] was in. The [writer] ascribes to al-Riyahi the following: "I stood by their bodies and their !graves..."!(۴) How ignorant the compiler of this book was

۱۵. He ascribes some verses to al-Husayn (as) in lamentation of Hurr [al-Riyahi] which are not worthy of [the Imam (as)]. Some of it reads: "He is the best hurr (free man) as (he supported Husayn, those who helped Husayn are indeed successful!(۵

۱۶. He ascribes to Imam al-Husayn (as) three verses in lamentation of his companions, whereas they are obviously known not to be of the Imam (as). Rather they belong to one of the poets of the later period. He says: "They helped Husayn, what young men (were they."(۶

۱۷. He is alone in specifying the day on which Imam

.(Ibid, (pg.۶۱-۶۲ -۱

۲- Ibid, (pg.۷۰).

۳- Ibid, (pg.۷۲).

۴- Ibid, (pg.۷۷). Tabari cites these verse in (۵:۴۷۰; Dar al-Ma'arif Publications) on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf from 'Abd al-Rahman bin Jundab who said: "'Ubaidullah bin al-Hurr had recited these verse in Madain: 'A treacherous governor, son of a traitor says: why did not you fight the martyr, son of Fatimah?'" Notice that this disloyal compiler has changed some words [in the verses] so that they might fit Hurr al-Riyahi, yet they did not!

۵- Ibid, (pg.۷۹).

۶- Ibid, (pg.۸۵).

al-Husayn (as) arrived in Karbala', saying that it was on Wednesday.(۱) He [also] says that he was martyred on Tuesday.(۲) According to this, Imam (as) must have arrived in Karbala' on the ۵th of Muharram! While the historians -including Abu Mikhnaf as reported in al-Tabari- unanimously agree that he reached Karbala' on Thursday (۳), the second of Muharram, and he was [martyred] on Friday.

۱۸. After narration no.۱۰۵(۴), he starts relating many [reports] from a person known as Sahl al-Shahrazuri, who is regarded to have journeyed with the Ahl al-Bait (as) from Kufah to Sham [and accompanied them] until their return to Madinah! He then puts in his mouth verses -while he was in Kufah- which were, in fact, said by Sulaiman bin Qattah al-Hashimi(۵) by the grave of Imam al-Husayn (as): "I passed by the houses of the household of Muhammad...".(۶) In Sham, he ascribes to him the report of Sahl bin Sa'd al-Sa'idi in the name of Sahl bin Sa'd al-Shahrazuri(۷), as though he considers [Shahrazuri] to be [al-Sa'idi]!

۱۹. He attributes a poem (urjuzah) of thirty odd verses(۸) to Imam al-Husayn (as) on the day of 'Ashura'. Similarly, he ascribes to 'Abdullah bin 'Afif al-Azdi a qasidah comprising about thirty verses before 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad.(۹)

۲۰. There appear words in different places of this book which are used in the colloquial language of the Arabs of the later period (muta'akhhirin) and which do not befit Abu Mikhnaf. For instance, in the story of digging a pit to trap Muslim, [we come

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۱- Ibid, (pg.۴۸).

۲- Ibid, (pg.۹۳).

۳- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۰۹). The account of al-Tabari is backed by what al-Arbali has related in Kashf al-Ghummah (۲:۲۵۲) through his chain of narration from Imam al-Sadiq (as): "He was martyred on the day of 'Ashura, [which fell] on Friday."

۴- Maqtal, (pg.۱۰۲)

۵- Shaikh Muhammad al-Samawi comments on this saying: "He was a Hashimite by clientage (wala'). His mother was Umm Qattah and his father Habib. He died in Damascus in ۱۲۶ H. Al-Mas'udi (۴:۷۴) mentions him as Ibn Qattah, quoting that from the book Ansab Quraish of Zubair bin Bakar."

۶- Maqtal (pg.۱۰۲-۱۰۳).

۷- Ibid, (pg.۱۲۳).

۸- - Ibid, (pg.۷۶-۷۷). Seventeen of these verses have been related by 'Ali bin 'Isa al-Arbali (d.۶۹۳ H) in his book Kashf al-Ghummah (۲:۲۳۸; Tabriz edition). He related them from the book al-Futuh of Ahmad bin A'tham al-Kufi (d.۳۱۴ H), saying that he recited them when [al-Husayn's] infant was martyred and he dug a grave and buried him. While according to this Maqtal, the Imam (as) recited them when he made a violent attack on the [enemy], scattering them and killing one thousand five hundred of their horsemen! He returned to the tents saying..." Al-Arbali (pg.۲۵۰) clearly states that: "The nuniyyah verses that begin with: 'The people committed treachery...' have not been mentioned by Abu Mikhnaf though they are famous, and Allah knows best." Al-Khwarazmi (d.۵۶۸ H) has mentioned in his Maqtal three of the [above] verses (۲:۳۳) from Ibn A'tham.

۹- Maqtal (pg.۱۰۸-۱۰۹).

across words as] "The accursed (la'in) one approached and said to them... and fill it with grass (daghl) and earth.... we should then retreat from in front of him."(۱). Or "His helpers went away (rahat)"(۲), or "The one who was awake (yaqZanahu)..."(۳) and "He was picking a quarrel (yataharrashu)..."(۴)

After all this, none would consider it correct for this book to be ascribed to Abu .Mikhnaf

(The Sources of Abu Mikhnaf (isnad

Here, we will present a detailed list of the names of the intermediaries (wasait) between Abu Mikhnaf and the events [he related]. We shall [also] mention after the name of every narrator the reports he has narrated. Thus, the list itself would serve .as an index for all the narrations that are going to appear in this book

We have six different list of narrators based on the manner they narrated the reports, :or the manner in which Abu Mikhnaf related from them. They are

This list comprises the names of those who witnessed the battle and directly related .۱ [its events] to Abu Mikhnaf, without any intermediary. Thus, Abu Mikhnaf is reporting the [information about the] battle from them, i.e. through one link [only]. This list .comprises three narrators

This list also consists of the names of those who witnessed the battle, with the .۲ difference that Abu Mikhnaf relates from these [narrators] through a link or two. That is, he narrates the [events of the] battle through two or three people. There are fifteen people in this list. Accordingly, the total number of people who witnessed the

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.(Ibid, (pg.۳۵ -۱

.(Ibid, (pg.۱۳۵ -۲

.(Ibid, (pg.۱۲۹ -۳

.(Ibid, (pg.۱۳۲ -۴

.battle and from whom Abu Mikhnaf related his reports is eighteen

This list contains the names of those who were in direct contact with the events .۳ before and after Karbala'. They reported them to Abu Mikhnaf directly. Thus, he narrates the events from each of them through a single link. There are five people in

.this list

It consists of those who witnessed the events before or after Karbala' and Abu .۴ Mikhnaf narrates from each of them through one or two links. There are twenty one .people in this list

It comprises people who neither witnessed the battle, nor were they in direct .۵ contact with the events. Rather, they served as links for the reports of Abu Mikhnaf from [the narrators in the past four lists]. Thus, Abu Mikhnaf narrates the battle or the events surrounding it through two links. There are a number of twenty nine people in .this list

It contains the names of the just narrators ('udul) from among the companions of .۶ the Aimmah (as) or the Aimmah themselves. They are not among those who witnessed the battle or were in direct contact with the events surrounding it. They are [all] considered as links, though they were not narrating through [any] intermediaries .or [at least] did not mention them. There are fourteen people in this list

Therefore, it becomes clear from the above list that the total number of those who narrated the events of Karbala' to Abu Mikhnaf, directly or indirectly, is thirty-nine people. They have related

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sixty-five narrations together with their complete chains of narration (musnad). And .this is the total number of reports mentioned in this book

We have extracted the biographies of these transmitters either from the works of rijal, or by tracing the places wherein their reports have appeared in al-Tabari. [Of .course,] there are [also] those about whom we could not find any information

The Detailed List of the Narrators

The First List

They are those who witnessed the battle [at Karbala'] and narrated it directly to Abu

:Mikhnaf. They are

Thabit bin Hubairah. He related the death of ‘Amru bin QaraZah bin Ka’b al-Ansari .١ .(and the report about his brother, ‘Ali bin QaraZah (See al-Tabari: ۵:۴۳۴

He has this report only. We have not found any mention of him in the books of rijal. The actual text of the the Maqtal regarding his report reads as follows: “Abu Mikhnaf says: [I narrate] from Thabit bin Hubairah who said: ‘Then ‘Amru bin QaraZah bin Ka’b ”’...was killed

The manner in which] the report [has been narrated] implies that [Abu Mikhnaf]] .[related it directly from [him

Yahya bin Hani’ bin ‘Urwah al-Muradi al-Madhhiji. He related the martyrdom of Nafi’ .٢ bin Hilal al-Jamali. The text reads: “Yahya has narrated to me... that Nafi’...” This is (very clear in that it was a direct report. (See al-Tabari: ۵:۴۳۵

His mother was Raw’ah, daughter of Hajjaj al-Zubaidiyy and the sister of ‘Amru bin al-Hajjaj al-Zubaidiyy. Thus, [‘Amru] is the uncle of Yahya from the mother’s side. ((۵:۳۶۳

Yahya was present in Karbala’ together with his uncle in the army

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of ‘Umar bin Sa’d. He has narrated the martyrdom of Nafi’ bin Hilal al-Jamali. [Yahya] heard his uncle ‘Amru bin al-Hajjaj al-Zubaidiyy stopping the army of [Ibn Sa‘d] from engaging in single combat [with the companions of al-Husayn (as)] after the martyrdom of Nafi’ bin Hilal, suggesting to them, instead, to throw stones at al-(Husayn (as) and his companions. Yet, he did not part from his uncle. (۵:۴۳۵

He also related what his uncle told ‘Abdullah bin al-Muti’ al-‘Adawi, the governer of Ibn al-Zubair in Kufah, that he should stand firm in fighting Mukhtar bin Abi ‘Ubaid al-(Thaqafi. Yahya was along side his uncle in his combat against Mukhtar. (۶:۲۸

Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in al-Thuqat. Al-Darqutni says that his [word] can be

taken as a proof. According to al-Nassai, he is reliable. Abu Hatim adds that he was pious and among the chiefs in Kufah. Shu'bah says that he was a leader of the people .of Kufah, as reported in Tahdhib al-Tahdhib

Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Rahman bin Zuhair al-Khath'ami. He narrated the martyrdom of .۳ Suwaid bim 'Amru bim Abi Muta' al-Khath'ami. The text says: "...has related to me .(saying..." (۵:۴۴۶

.This is his only report. We have not found any mention of him in the books of rijal

The Second List

Those who witnessed the battle and from whom Abu Mikhnaf narrates through one or :two links. They are

Uqbah bin Sim'an(۱). He related the arrival of al-Husayn (as) at Karbala' and the' .۱ letter of Ibn Ziyad to Hurr in this regard (al-Tabari: ۵:۴۰۷). [Abu

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He was the retainer of Rabab, daughter of Imru' al-Qais al-Kalbi and the mother of -۱ Sakinah -daughter of al-Husayn (as). He was taken to 'Umar bin Sa'd on the day of 'Ashura' who asked him: "Who are you?" He replied: "I am a slave." So he freed him .((al-Tabari:۵:۴۵۴

.Mikhnaf narrates from him] through one intermediary

Hani' bin Thubait al-Hadhrami al-Sakuni. He narrated Ibn Sa'd's meeting with Imam .۲ al-Husayn (as) at a point between the two camps after the arrival of the Imam (as) at Karbala' and before the day of 'Ashura'. The text says: "Abu Janab has narrated to me "... 'from Hani

He witnessed the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as) (al-Tabari:۵:۴۱۳). He participated in the killing of 'Abdullah bin 'Umair al-Kalbi -the second person to be martyred from the companions of al-Husayn (as) (۵:۴۳۶), and in the killing of 'Abdullah bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib

(as), Ja’far bin ‘Ali (as), a lad from the household of al-Husayn (۵:۴۴۸) and ‘Abdullah bin al-Husayn bin ‘Ali (as) whose mother was Rabab, daughter of Imru’ al-Qais al-Kalbi .((۵:۴۶۸

:Humaid bin Muslim al-Azdi. He reported the following .۳

Ibn Ziyad’s letter to Ibn Sa‘d, instructing him to prevent al-Husayn (as) and his companions from getting water; the endeavour of ‘Abbas (as) to get water on the seventh night [of Muharram] (۵:۴۱۲); the dispatch of Shamir to Karbala’ (۵:۴۱۴); the beginning of the battle (۵:۴۲۹); [al-Husayn’s] words to Shamir when he [intended to] attack the tents just before the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as); the noon prayers; the martyrdom of Habib bin MuZahir al-Asadi (۵:۴۳۹); the words of the Imam (as) at the martyrdom of his son ‘Ali (as); the coming out of [Lady] Zainab at the martyrdom of al-Husayn; the martyrdom of Qasim bin al-Husayn (as); the martyrdom of ‘Abdullah bin al-Husayn (as) in [al-Husayn’s] lap

the state of al-Husayn (as) after the martyrdom of his companions till his ;(۵:۴۴۶-۴۴۸) own martyrdom (۵:۴۵۱۴۵۲); the difference [of opinion] within the [enemy’s] camp after [al-Husayn’s] martyrdom regarding killing his son ‘Ali (as); the story of ‘Uqbah bin Sim’an and his release; the trampling of the horses on the body of al-Husayn (as); the carrying of the head of the Imam (as) to Ibn Ziyad by [Humaid] and Khauliyy bin Yazid al-Asbahi (۵:۴۵۵); ‘Umar bin Sa‘d’s sending of [Humaid] to his family members to inform them that he was in safety; the prisoners in the court of Ibn Ziyad and his hitting al-Husayn’s lips with a cane; the incident of Zayd bin Arqam narrating to him the tradition of the Messenger of Allah (S) and the reply of Ibn Ziyadh to him; the remarks of Zayd about Ibn Ziyad; Zainab’s entering the court of Ibn Ziyad, his words to her and her answer; Ibn Ziyad’s attempt to beat her and the comments of ‘Amru bin Huraith; the words of Ibn Ziyad to Imam Zain al-‘Abidin (as) and his reply; the attempt to kill him and his aunt’s clinging to him; and [finally] Ibn Ziyad’s sermon in the .(mosque and Ibn ‘Afif’s reply to him and his murder (al-Tabari:۵:۴۵۶-۴۵۹

.The person from whom Humaid narrated these reports was Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid

It is noticed that Abu Mikhnaf brings in incomplete reports [from Humaid] and narrates [only] those parts which are relevant to the occasion in hand. It is also evident that

Humaid's] reports begin with the dispatch of Shamir to Karbala' and end with reports] .about [what transpired in] the court of Ibn Ziyad and the murder of Ibn 'Afif al-Azdi

This implies that Humaid was in the army of Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan al-Kilabi, especially after taking into consideration his constant conversation with Shamir, censuring him in a number of matters; and [secondly] his presence in the tents after the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as), knowing that it was Shamir who attacked the tents .with the foot soldiers

Later, we see [Humaid] participating in the uprising of the Tawwabun (۵:۵۵۵). He used to visit Mukhtar in prison, but [at the same time] he cautioned Sulaiman bin Surad al-Khuza'i against him, informing him that Mukhtar was inciting people to betray him. [However,] Sulaiman ignored this action of [Mukhtar] (۵:۵۸۱۵۸۴). [Humaid] later returned with the defeated army of the Tawwabun (۵:۶۰۶). He was a friend of Ibrahim bin al-Ashtar al-Nakha'i whom he used to frequently visit and go with him to [see] Mukhtar every evening–after the Tawwabun uprising. They would plan their affairs till late night and then disperse (۶:۱۸). One Monday evening Humaid came out with Ibrahim from his house with a group of about a hundred [men]. They were armed with swords and were concealing their shields under their cloak-like garments (۶:۱۹). They (advanced till they came to the house of Mukhtar on the night he departed. (۶:۲۳

However, when [Humaid] came to know that Mukhtar is determined to kill the assasins of al-Husayn

as), he rose together with 'Abd al-Rahman bin Mikhnaf al-Azdi, Abu Mikhnaf's uncle,) against Mukhtar. When 'Abd al-Rahman was wounded, Humaid recited some verses

in sympathy for him (۶:۵۱). When ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Mikhnaf escaped from Kufah and !(sought refuge with Mus’ab bin al-Zubair in Basrah, Humaid also joined him there (۶:۵۸

His name last appears in al-Tabari (۶:۲۱۳) when he recited couplets in lamentation of ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Mikhnaf who was killed by the [followers of the] Azariqah [sect from the] Khawarij near Kazarun in ۷۵ H, as he was fighting them along with Muhallab .bin Safrah on behalf of Hajjaj bin Yusuf al-Thaqafi

Al-Dhahabi has mentioned [Humaid] in Mizan al-I’tidal (۱:۶۱۶) and so has Ibn Qudamah .(in al-Mughni (۱:۱۹۵

Dahhak bin ‘Abdillah al-Mushriqi al-Hamdani. He narrated the reports about the .۴ night and the day of ‘Ashura’; al-Husayn’s preparation for the battle; and his (important speech on the day of ‘Ashura’. (al-Tabari:۵:۴۱۸, ۴۱۹, ۴۲۱, ۴۲۳, ۴۲۵ ۴۴۴

Abu Mikhnaf relates from this person on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Asim al-Faishi al-Hamdani -who was also from the [Banu] Hamdan- that he [i.e. Dahhak] laid a condition before Imam al-Husayn (as) that he would be free to leave him in case [all] his companions were killed, and the Imam (as) accepted it! Accordingly, he fled the (battlefield. (۵:۴۱۸۴۴۴

!(Al-Tusi mentions him in his Rijal among the companions of Imam Zain al-‘Abidin (as

Imam ‘Ali bin al-Husayn (as). [Abu Mikhnaf] narrates from him the report about the .۵ events of the night of ‘Ashura’ through

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:two intermediaries. They are

a) Harith bin Hasirah, who was narrating from ‘Abdullah bin Sharik al-‘Amiri, who) .(narrated from [al-Sajjad (as)] (al-Tabari:۵:۴۱۸

b) Harith bin Ka’b al-Walibi al-Azdi al-Kufi and Abu al-Dahhak [al-Basri], both of whom) .(were narrating from [al-Sajjad (as)] (al-Tabari:۵:۴۲۰

Amru al-Hadhrami. He narrated the joining of [fresh] troops to the army of ‘Umar‘ .۶ .bin Sa‘d (al-Tabari:۵:۴۲۲) through two links. The identity of this person is not known

A servant of ‘Abd al-Rahman bin ‘Abd Rabbih al-Ansari. Abu Mikhnaf reports his .۷ joking with Burair bin Khudhair al-Hamdani through two links, namely: ‘Amru bin Murrah al-Jamali who narrated from Abu Salih al-Hanafi, who in turn related from this servant. The report ended saying: “When I saw that the people had been defeated, I .(escaped and left them” (al-Tabari:۵:۴۲۱۴۲۲

Masruq bin Wail al-Hadhrami. [Abu Mikhnaf related from him] the story of Ibn .۸ Hawzah at the beginning of the battle through two intermediaries, ‘Ata’ bin al-Sa’ib who narrated it from Abd al-Jabbar bin Wail al-Hadhrami, who in turn reported [Masruq] as saying: “I was in the front line of the cavalry that marched against al-Husayn... so that I may obtain the head of al-Husayn which would gain me some position in the eyes ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad... Masruq then returned... and said: ‘Verily, I have seen something in the people of this house that I will never fight them [again]’.” ((al-Tabari:۵:۴۲۱

Kathir bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bi al-Hamdani. Abu Mikhnaf relates from him the speech .۹ of Zuhair bin al-Qain through ‘Ali bin HanZalah bin As’ad al-Shabami

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who was narrating from one of his kinsmen called Kathir bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bi who .(had happened to witness the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as) (al-Tabari:۵:۴۲۶

Tabari narrates from ‘Awanah on the authority of Hisham that: “[Al-Sha’bi] was a brave knight whom nothing would cause to turn his face away from the battle. When ‘Umar bin Sa‘d asked the leaders [who had written letters to al-Husayn (as) from Kufah] to go to al-Husayn (as) and inquire from him why he has come and what does he want, “All of them refused and expressed their dislike for that. Kathir bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bi stood up and said: ‘I will go to him. By Allah, if you wish I can [even] assassinate him!...So he went to him... [Abu Thumamah] came forward and said to him: ‘Put down your sword.’ He said: ‘Nay by Allah, there is no honour [for you]!’...

Then they cursed each other" (۵:۴۱۰). "[Kathir] and Muhajir bin Aws launched a violent attack on Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajali and killed him." (۵:۴۴۱).

۱۰. Al-Zubaidiyy. He reported the second attack (al-Tabari:۵:۴۳۵). This man, who was from the tribe of Zubaid in Yemen, used to narrate the [so called] glorious deeds of his tribal leader, 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj al-Zubaidiyy!

۱۱. Ayyub bin Mashrah al-Khayawani. He reported the command of al-Kalbi. He was the one who lamed the horse of Hurr [al-Riyahi]. Later his people accused him of killing Hurr, so he said: "Nay by Allah, I did not kill him. Rather, someone other than me killed him. I

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would not like to have killed him." His father, Abu al-Waddak Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdani asked him: "Why are you not pleased to be the one who killed him?' He replied: "They claimed that he was among the pious men. By Allah, if he was a sinner, then I would [still] prefer to meet Allah with the sin of wounding [him] than to meet Him with the sin of killing one of them!" Abu al-Waddak said: "You are not going to meet Allah except with the sin of killing all of them... all of you have a share in [spilling] their blood." (al-Tabari:۵:۴۳۷).

۱۲. 'Afif bin Zuhair bin Abi al-Akhnas. He reported the martyrdom of Burair bin Khudhair al-Hamdani (r). He was [also] among those who witnessed the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as). He says in this report: "Burair used to teach them the Qur'an in the central mosque of Kufah" (al-Tabari:۵:۴۳۱).

۱۳. Rabi' bin Tamim al-Hamdani. He reported the martyrdom of 'Abis bin Abi Shabib al-Shakiri. He was one of those who witnessed that day [i.e. the day of 'Ashura'] (al-Tabari:۵:۴۴۴).

۱۴. 'Abdullah bin 'Ammar al-Bariqi. He reported the state of al-Husayn (as) when attacking the people. He was among those who witnessed the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as) and was [later] reproached for witnessing it. [But] he replied: "Indeed the

Banu Hashim are obliged to me for a favour!! So we asked him: "What favour did you ...do them?" He said: "I attacked al-Husayn with a lance, then I drew closer to him

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.(then I quickly distanced myself from him!" (al-Tabari:۵:۴۵۱

Qurrah bin Qais al-HanZali al-Tamimi. He reported the severing of the heads and .۱۵ about the captives (al-Tabari:۵:۴۵۵). He had come out under Hurr bin Yazid al-Riyahi al-Tamimi -a commander from his tribe, in the vanguard of Ibn Ziyad against al-.(Husayn (as) (۵:۴۲۷

Qurrah] is the one whom Ibn Sa'd had sent to al-Husayn (as) to ask him the reason he] came out [from Madinah] and what he wanted. When he came to al-Husayn (as), Habib bin MuZahir al-Asadi invited him to help al-Husayn (as) but he declined (۵:۴۱۱). He is [also] the one who says that Hurr said to him: "Do not you want to water your horse?" and then Hurr moved away from him until he made his way to al-Husayn (as). [Qurrah] later used to say that had Hurr informed him of his intentions, he would have .(gone with him to al-Husayn (as)! (۵:۴۲۷

These are the fifteen people who witnessed the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as) and from whom Abu Mikhnaf has narrated [reports], either through one or two .intermediaries

The Third List

These are those who were in direct contact with the events [that surrounded the :movement of al-Husayn (as)] and directly related them to Abu Mikhnaf. They are

Abu Janab Yahya bin Abi Hayyah al-Wada'i al-Kalbi. He has reported the following: .۱ the encounter of the companions of Muslim with Ibn Ziyad (al-Tabari:۵:۳۶۹۳۷۰); the dispatch of the heads of Muslim and Hani' by Ibn Ziyad to Yazid and his letter to him in this regard

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.(۵:۳۸۰)

The editor of this work says: It seems to me that [Abu Janab] was relating these reports from his brother, Hani' bin Abi Hayyah, since he was the one whom Ibn Ziyad .sent with his letter

Al-Tabari has narrated ۲۳ reports from him. Nine of them are concerning the battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan, all through some links. [The other] nine are regarding Karbala', five of which have been transmitted indirectly and another three through an .(incomplete chain of narration (irsal

He is mentioned last in al-Tabari as relating -through an incomplete chain of narration- the letter of Mus'ab bin al-Zubair to Ibrahim bin al-Ashtar in the year ۶۷ H (and after the death of Mukhtar, inviting him to support him. (۶:۱۱۱

The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۱۱:۲۰۱) mentions his biography and says: "A truthful ".person from Kufah who died in ۱۴۷ H

Therefore, we conclude, from the above citation, that he was not in direct contact .with the events

Ja'far bin Hudhaifah al-Tai. He reports the following: the letter of Muslim [bin 'Aqil] to .۲ al-Husayn (as) before the former's martyrdom, informing him of the allegiance of the people of Kufah [to him]; and the letter of Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kindi to Imam al-Husayn (as) through Ayas bin al-'Athal al-Tai, informing him of the arrest .(and murder of Muslim bin 'Aqil (al-Tabari:۵:۳۷۵

Al-Dhahabi mentions [Ja'far] in Mizan al-I'tidal and says: "He related [reports] from 'Ali, and Abu Mikhnaf narrated from him. [Ja'far] was with 'Ali at Siffin. Ibn Hibban has mentioned him

".in al-Thuqat and says: "It is not known who he is

Al-Tabari has narrated five reports from him. Two reports about Siffin and other two

.[concerning the Khawarij from Tay' and [the fifth one is] the report [mentioned above

۳. Dulham bint 'Amru, the wife of Zuhair bin al-Qain. She reported the joining [of Zuhair] with al-Husayn (as). The text reads: "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Dulham has related to me that... She said: 'So I said to [Zuhair]..." (al-Tabari:۵:۳۹۶).

۴. Uqbah bin Abi al-'Aizar. He narrated: the two sermons of the Imam (as) at al-' Baidhah and Dhu Husam; the reply of Zuhair bin al-Qain to the Imam (as); and the verses [recited] by the Imam (as) and Tirimmah bin 'Adiyy (al-Tabari:۵:۴۰۳). It seems he was among the companions of Hurr and was saved. We have found no mention of him in our works of rijal. The author of Lisan al-Mizan mentions him and says: "His narrations are reliable. Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in al-Thuqat."(۱)

These were the four [people] who were in direct contact with the happenings and they, apparently, narrated them directly to Abu Mikhnaf.

The Fourth List

They are those who were either in direct contact with the events, or they belonged to the same period and thus reported them. Abu Mikhnaf narrates [reports] from them through one or two links. They are:

۱. Abu Sa'id Dinar, or Kaisan, or 'Aqisa al-Maqbari. He reported the verses [recited] by al-Husayn (as) when he was leaving Madinah through one intermediary, namely 'Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musahiq bin Makhramah

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۱- Lisan al-Mizan (۴:۱۷۹, ۳:۸۸ and ۲:۴۳۳).

(al-Tabari:۵:۳۴۲).

Al-Dhahabi mentions him in Mizan al-I'tidal and says: "He and his father were the companions of Abu Hurairah. He is reliable and an authority (hujjah). He [lived and] became very old, but was not deranged... He died in ۱۲۵ H. He was a supporter of the

Banu Tamim. Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in al-Thuqat. According to al-Hakim, he is (reliable and trustworthy."(1)

According to Tahdhib al-Tahdhib, al-Waqidi says: "He is reliable and a prolific narrator. He died in ١٠٠ H. Some say that [he died] during the rule of Walid bin 'Abd al-Malik. It is said that 'Umar had put him in charge of digging graves. So he used to live in the (graveyard area and thus came to be known as 'al-Maqbari'."(2)

Shaikh al-Tusi mentions him in his Rijal among the companions of 'Ali and al-Husayn (as), [but] by the name of Dinar. His agnomen was Abu Sa'id and his title 'Aqisa. He (was given this title because of a poem he had recited.(3)

Ibn Qudamah says in al-Mughni: "He is al-Maqdisi, from al-Maqdis, the city of Prophet ".(liya

Al-Saduq narrates in his Amali through a chain of narration going back to Abu Sa'id 'Aqisa who said: "[I relate] from al-Husayn who was reporting from his father, who narrated the Prophet (S) saying to him: "O 'Ali! You are my brother and I am your brother. I have been chosen for the prophethood (nubuwwah) while you have been selected for the divine leadership (imamah). [O 'Ali] I am the bearer of revelation

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١- Mizan al-I'tidal (٢:١٣٩).

٢- Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (٨:٤٥٣).

٣- Rijal al-Tusi (pg.٤٠; Najaf edition).

tanzil) and you are [responsible] for its interpretation (ta'wil). You and I are the [two]) fathers of this Ummah. You are my trustee, successor, vizier, inheritor and the father ".of my offspring. Your followers (shi'atuka) are my followers

٢. 'Uqbah bin Sim'an. He narrated the following: the departure of the Imam (as) from Madinah; his meeting with 'Abdullah bin Muti' al-'Adawi; his arrival in Makkah (al-Tabari:٥:٣٥١); the conversation of Ibn 'Abbas and Ibn al-Zubair with the Imam (as)

when he was leaving Makkah (۵:۳۸۳); the report about the messengers of ‘Amru bin Sa’id al-‘As al-Ashdaq, the then governer of Makkah, to al-Husayn (as), asking him to return to Makkah; the report on the Yemeni dye (waras) at Tan’im (۵:۳۸۵); the conversation of ‘Ali bin al-Husayn [al-Akbar] with his father after they left Qasr Banu Muqatil; the arrival of al-Husayn (as) at Nainawa; the coming of the messenger of Ibn Ziyad with his letter to Hurr; al-Husayn’s camping at Nainawa; the arrival of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d (۵:۴۰۷-۴۰۹); and the proposal of the Imam (as) to Ibn Sa‘d (۵:۴۱۳).

All these reports were related [by Abu Mikhnaf] through one intermediary, namely Harith bin Ka’b al-Walibi al-Hamdani. This [also] backs the fact that Abu Mikhnaf used to report only those parts of a report which were relevant to the occasion he was treating (taqti’).

۳. Muhammad bin Bishr al-Hamdani. The reports he narrated are: the gathering of the Shi‘ah in Kufah at the house of Sulaiman bin Surad al-Khuza’i after the death of Mu’awiyah; the speech

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of Sulaiman; their letters to al-Husayn (as); Imam’s reply to them through Muslim bin ‘Aqil (al-Tabari:۵:۳۵۲-۳۵۳); the letter of Muslim to al-Husayn (as) on his way to Kufah and the latter’s reply to him; Muslim’s arrival in Kufah; the frequent visits of the Shi‘ah to Muslim at the house of Mukhtar (۵:۳۵۴-۳۵۵); and Ibn Ziyad’s sermon after the martyrdom of Hani’ bin ‘Urwah (۵:۳۶۸).

All these reports were transmitted through one link, namely Hajjaj bin ‘Ali al-Bariqi al-Hamdani.

[Al-Bariqi] was present in the gathering of the Shi‘ah [in Kufah] at the house of Sulaiman bin Surad. He says: “We then mentioned the death of Mu’awiyah and expressed our gratitude to Allah for that. Then Sulaiman bin Surad said to us... then we sent [the two men] with the letter... and ordered them to keep the matter secret... then we sent to him... we waited for two more days and sent [more] letters... and our letters were with them.” (۵:۳۵۴-۳۵۵).

He was also present in the meeting of the Shi'ah with Muslim at Mukhtar's place, but he did not pay allegiance to him out of fear of being killed. Hajjaj bin 'Ali says [in this regard]: "I said to Muhammad bin Bishr: 'Did you say anything?' He replied: 'Although I wished that may Allah honour my colleagues with victory, I did not want to be killed! I [also] did not want to lie [to Muslim by paying allegiance to him and then abandon him]!'" (۵:۳۵۵).

The author of Lisan al-Mizan says that Abu Hatim used

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to say: "He is Muhammad bin al-Sa'ib al-Kalbi al-Kufi, when his lineage is traced back to his grandfather. Otherwise, he is [known as] Muhammad bin al-Sa'ib bin Bishr."(۱)

Al-Tusi has mentioned him in his Rijal among the companions of Imam al-Baqir and al-Sadiq (as).(۲)

۴. Abu al-Waddak Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdani. He reported: the speech of Nu'man bin Bashir al-Ansari -the governer of Kufah for Mu'awiyah and Yazid; the letters of the people of Kufah to Yazid (al-Tabari:۵:۳۵۵-۳۵۶); Ibn Ziyad's address in Kufah (۵:۳۵۸-۳۵۹); Muslim's transfer to the house of Hani' bin 'Urwah; the spying of Ma'qal al-Shami on Muslim by the order of Ibn Ziyad; Ibn Ziyad's visit to Hani' when he was sick; the proposal of 'Umarah bin 'Ubaid al-Saluli to kill Ibn Ziyad; the disagreement of Hani' about that; Ibn Ziyad's visit to Sharik bin al-A'war al-Harithi al-Hamdani at Hani's house and the signal given by Sharik to Muslim to kill Ibn Ziyad; Muslim's refusal of that due to the disapproval of Hani'; Ibn Ziyad's call on Hani', beating and imprisoning him; the arrival of 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj al-Zubaidiyy with the distinguished men from the Madhhij and their horsemen; and the meeting of Shuraih al-Qadhi with Hani' and his informing [Hani's] kinsmen about the latter's safety (۵:۳۶۱-۳۶۷).

Abu Mikhnaf narrated these reports from Abu al-Waddak [through a person called] Numair bin Wa'lah al-Hamdani, except for the last report which was through Mua'lla bin Kulaib.

His complete name has appeared in his report about Imam 'Ali's speech at Nukhailah after he had

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.(Lisan al-Mizan (۵:۹۴ -۱

Rijal al-Tusi (pg۱۳۶۲۸۹). Tabari mentions him in Dhayl al-Mudhayyal (pg.۶۵۱; Dar -۲ Suwaidan publications), quoting from al-Tabaqat of Ibn Sa'd (۶:۳۵۸), and says that he .died in Kufah in the year ۱۴۶ H during the rule of Mansur

lost all hopes in guiding the Khawarij (۵:۷۸). It seems that he was in Kufah after the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as). He rebuked Ayyub bin Mashrah al-Khayawani for laming the horse of Hurr, saying: "I am sure that you will meet Allah with the sin of killing all of them. Tell me if you were to shoot at this [person], lame [the mount of] another, and then shoot at some other person, take a position in your combat, attack them and incite your companions against them and increase the number of your people [against them], [you do all this but still] when you are attacked you dislike to flee; [tell me] if the other person from among your companions was to do the same, and so did the third one... then [would not this mean that you and your] companions .(have killed them?! Indeed, you all have a share in [spilling] their blood!" (۵:۴۳۷

Al-Dhahabi mentions him in Mizan al-I'tidal and says: "[He was] the colleague of Abu (Sa'id al-Khudhri and well known for his truthfulness."(۱

The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib says: "Ibn Hibban has brought him in al-Thuqat. Ibn Ma'in says that he is reliable. According to al-Nassa'i, he was pious. He has also (narrated [reports] from him in his Sunan."(۲

Abu 'Uthman al-Nahdi. He reported: the letter of Imam al-Husayn (as) to the people .۵ of Basrah; the appointment of 'Uthman, Ibn Ziyad's brother, by Ibn Ziyad as his deputy over Basrah; and Ibn Ziyad's arrival in Kufah (al-Tabari:۵:۳۵۷-۳۵۸). [Abu Mikhnaf

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(Mizan al-I'tidal (۴:۵۸۴; Aleppo edition -۱

.(Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۲:۶۰) and in Tanqih al-Maqal (۳:۲۷ -۲

.narrated these reports] through one intermediary, namely Saq'ab bin Zuhair

Abu 'Uthman was among the companions of Mukhtar and was appointed by him, upon his arrival in Kufah to see Ibn Muti', [as the guardian] over the weak people at .(Sabkhah (۵:۲۲۲۹

The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib mentions him and says that he was from [the tribe of] Qudha'ah and lived during the times of the Prophet (S), though he did not see him. He was residing in Kufah and thereafter went to Basrah after the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as). [Abu 'Uthman] was in charge of the monthly stipends of his people. He performed hajj and 'umrah sixty times. He used to spend the night in prayers and fast during the day time. [According to al-Tahdhib,] he was reliable and died in ۹۵ H at the (age of one hundred and thirty.(۱

Abdullah bin Khazim al-Kathiri al-Azdi. He narrated, through Yusuf bin Yazid, the ' .۶ uprising of Muslim (as) and the giving of the banners by him (al-Tabari:۵:۳۶۷-۳۶۸). He also reported the people's betrayal of Muslim (۵:۳۷۰-۳۷۱) through Sulaiman bin Abi .Rashid

Abdullah] was among those who paid allegiance to Muslim (as) and was sent by him'] to inquire about Hani' [bin 'Urwah] in the palace [of Ibn Ziyad]. Then he became among those who betrayed Muslim and al-Husayn (as) (۵:۳۶۸-۳۶۹). Later ['Abdullah] repented along with the Tawwabun and joined their uprising (۵:۵۸۳) until he was killed .((۵:۶۰۱

Abbas -or 'Ayyash- bin Ja'dah al-Judali. He related: the uprising of Muslim (as) and' .۷ how the

.(Ibid, (۶:۲۷۷ -۱

people abandoned him, and the stand of Ibn Ziyad (۵:۳۶۹), through one intermediary .by the name of Yunus bin Abi Ishaq al-Subi'i al-Hamdani

He paid allegiance to Muslim and joined his [attempted] uprising, but thereafter "...nothing is known about him. He begins his report saying: "We came out with Muslim

Abd al-Rahman bin Abi 'Umair al-Thaqafi. He reported the offer made to Mukhtar' .۸ .to come under the safe-conduct granted by Ibn Ziyad

Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi. He narrated: the coming out of Muhammad bin al- .۹ Ash'ath against Muslim, the captivity of Muslim, (al-Tabari:۵:۳۷۳) and his request for .(water at the gate of the palace and [the way it was] granted (۵:۳۷۵

.Al-Tabari names him as Qudamah bin Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi

The editor of this work says: I have found that Zaidah bin Qudamah, the grandfather of Qudamah bin Sa'id, was the one who was in direct contact with the events in Kufah. With regard his grandson, Qudamah bin Sa'id, Shaikh al-Tusi has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sadiq (as).(۱) Therefore, it is more appropriate to put the chain of narrators this way: "Qudamah bin Sa'id narrates from "...Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi

The grandfather of Qudamah was Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi, the chief of the police in Kufah in the year ۵۸ H, under 'Abd al-Rahman bin Umm al-Hakam al-Thaqafi, the governor of Mu'awiyah bin Abi Sufyan after the Year of Unity ('am al-jama'ah) (۵:۳۱۰). He was together with 'Amru bin Huraith when the safe-conduct from 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad was

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.(Rijal al-Tusi (pg. ۲۷۵; Najaf edition -۱

made public in Kufah after the uprising of Muslim bin 'Aqil (as), thus he interceded on .(behalf of Mukhtar, his cousin (۵:۵۷۰

Ibn Qudamah] was the one who took the letter of Mukhtar from the prison of Ibn] Ziyad in Kufah to 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, the husband of Mukhtar's sister, Safiyyah bint Abi 'Ubaid al-Thaqafi, requesting him to intercede with Yazid on his behalf. Accordingly, Ibn Ziyad freed him, but wanted to punish Ibn Qudamah for this action of .(his, but he fled [the city] until after he was granted protection [from Ibn Ziyad] (۵: ۵۷۱

Ibn Qudamah] was among those people of Kufah who paid allegiance to 'Abdullah bin] Muti' al-'Adawi, Ibn al-Zubair's governor in Kufah. Ibn Muti' sent him in pursuit of Mukhtar, so he informed [Mukhtar] about this but he did not pay heed (۶:۱۱). [In fact,] the uprising of Mukhtar in Kufah began from the garden of Zaidah at Sabkhah (۶:۲۲). Mukhtar had sent to unseat 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Makhzumi, Ibn al-Zubair's .(governor in Kufah, and he managed to do so through bribery and threat (۶:۷۲

Later, Zaidah joined 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan and fought Mus'ab bin al-Zubair along side with him and managed to kill him at the monastery of the monks, in vengeance of the blood of Mukhtar (۶:۱۵۹). Thereafter, Hajjaj sent him with two thousand men to fight Shabib al-Khariji at Rudbar. He fought him until he was killed [by Shabib] in the .(year ۷۶ H, while his companions surrounded him [helplessly] (۶:۲۴۶

Thus, it becomes

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evident that Qudamah bin Sa'id bin Zaidah from whom Abu Mikhnaf narrates this report [i.e. the one about Muslim], was not in direct contact with the events of Kufah .during the uprising of Muslim bin 'Aqil

And, perhaps, the chain of narration should read as such: 'Qudamah bin Sa'id narrated to me from Zaidah bin Qudamah...'; for Zaidah was with 'Amru bin Huraith as we have seen, so he must have been narrating to his grandson, Qudamah bin .(Sa'id, the report about Ibn Ziyad's sending of Muhammad bin Ash'ath to Muslim (as

Umarah bin 'Uqbah bin Abi Mu'it al-Umawi. He narrated Muslim's request for' .۱۰ water and [the way] he was given the water (al-Tabari:۵:۳۷۵). This report has been

.related from him by his grandson, Sa'id bin 'Umarah bin 'Uqbah

".The author of Taqrib al-Tahdhib says that: "['Umarah] was reliable and died in ۱۱۶ H

Umar bin 'Abd al-Rahman bin al-Harith bin Hisham al-Makhzumi. [Abu Mikhnaf]' .۱۱ reports from him, through Saq'ab bin al-Zuhair, what he said to Imam al-Husayn (as) .(as the latter was departing from Makkah (al-Tabari:۵:۳۸۲

Abdullah bin al-Zubair had appointed ['Umar] as his governor over Kufah during the' time of Mukhtar, but the latter drove him away through bribery and threats (۶:۷۱). The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib says regarding him: "Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in (al-Thuqat and says that he has narrated reports from a group of companions."(۱)

Abdullah bin Sulaim and Mudhri bin al-Mushma'il, who were both from the Banu' .۱۲ Asad. They reported: the conversation of Ibn al-Zubair with

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.(Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۷:۴۷۲) and Khulasah Tadhhib Tahdhib al-Kamal (pg.۲۸۴ -۱

Imam al-Husayn (as) which took place between the black stone (al-hajar al-aswad) and the door [of the Ka'bah] (al-Tabari:۵:۳۸۴); the meeting of Farazdaq with the Imam (as) (۵:۳۸۶); and the news of the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aqil (as) at Tha'labiyyah (۵:۳۹۷-۳۹۸). [Abu Mikhnaf narrated these reports from them] through two links: Abu Janab Yahya bin Abi Hayyah al-Wada'i al-Kalbi, who related from 'Adiyy bin Harmalah .al-Asadi

Both of them had heard Imam's call for help but did not come to his aid. 'Abdullah bin .(Sulaim was alive until the year ۷۷ H (۶:۲۹۵

Imam 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as). He reported: the letter of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far to Imam .۱۳ al-Husayn (as) which he sent through his two sons, 'Aun and Muhammad; the letter of 'Amru bin Sa'id al-Ashdaq to the Imam (as) through his brother, Yahya, and the reply of the Imam (as). [Abu Mikhnaf narrated these reports from Ibn al-Husayn] through .(one link, Harith bin Ka'b al-Walibi (۵:۳۸۷-۳۸۸

Bakr bin Mus'ab al-Muzni. [Abu Mikhnaf reports from him] the martyrdom of .۱۴ 'Abdullah bin Yuqtur and the report about what transpired at Zubalah [on the way to .(Kufah], through Abu 'Ali al-Ansari (al-Tabari:۵:۳۹۸-۳۹۹

.The identity of both Bakr and Abu 'Ali is unknown

Fazariyy. He narrated the report on [how] Zuhair bin al-Qain jouined al-Husayn .۱۵ (as), through al-Suddi. The text reads: "A man from the Banu Fazarah [said]..." (al-.(Tabari:۵:۳۹۶

Tirimmah bin 'Adiyy. [Abu Mikhnaf relates a report concerning Tirimmah's meeting .۱۶ .(with the Imam (as)] through Jamil bin Marthad al-Ghanawi (al-Tabari:۵:۴۰۶

(He met al-Husayn (as

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on his way to Kufah]. The Imam (as) asked him for help, but he put forward the] excuse that he was carrying provision for his family, so the Imam (as) did not stop .(him. [However,] he could not come to the help of the Imam (as

Shaikh al-Tusi counts him among the companions of 'Ali (as) and al-Husayn (as). Al-Mamqani mentions him saying that he was reliable and that he succeeded in [coming back and] helping the Imam (as). He sustained injuries [in Karbala'] but was [later] (cured and died after that. [However,] he has not mentioned the source for it.(۱

Amir bin Sharahil bin 'Abd al-Sha'bi al-Hamdani. [Abu Mikhnaf narrates from him]' .۱۷ .(the report about Qasr Bani Muqatil, through Mujalid bin Sa'id (al-Tabari:۵:۴۰۷

Amir] was born in ۲۱ H (۴:۱۴۵). His mother was among the prisoners of Jalwala' in the'] year ۱۶ H. He and his father were the first to respond to Mukhtar (۶:۱۵), and they both testified that Mukhtar was on the right (۶:۱۷). Both he and his father came out in the streets of Madain with Mukhtar [and his followers] in the year ۶۷ H (۶:۹۱). After the death of Mukhtar, ['Amir] joined Hajjaj and used to be with him (۶:۳۲۷). In ۸۲ H, he revolted against Hajjaj under 'Abd al-Rahman bin al-Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kindi (۶:۳۵۰).

When the later was defeated, [‘Amir] joined Qutaibah bin Muslim, Hajjaj’s governer over Rayy. [Qutaibah] asked for safe-conduct for him and [accordingly] Hajjaj granted him protection (۶:۳۷۴). He continued to live

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Tanqih al-Maqal (۲:۱۰۹). As we said earlier, the source of this assertion is the current -۱ Maqtal which is ascribed to Abu Mikhnaf. This is the report on which Muhaddith al-Qumi has commented in Nafas al-Mahmum (pg.۱۹۵).

until he took over the judgeship of Kufah for Yazid bin ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwan during the time of ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, ۹۹-۱۰۱ H.

He was one of those who abandoned Muslim (as) and al-Husayn (as) and did not accompany the latter. Abu Mikhnaf narrates from him through an incomplete chain of transmission (mursalan). He died suddenly in ۱۰۴ H in Kufah as reported in al-Kuna wa al-Alqab (۲:۳۲۸). Tabari has related ۱۱۴ narrations from him in his Tarikh. The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib mentions him and narrates from al-‘Ajali that al-Sha’bi heard narrations from fourty eight companions [of the Prophet (S)] and lived during the time of ‘Ali (as). It has also been said that he died in the year ۱۱۰ H.(۱)

۱۸. Hassan bin Fa’id bin Bukair al-‘Absi. [Abu Mikhnaf narrates from him] Ibn Sa‘d’s letter to Ibn Ziyad and his reply to the former, through Nadhr bin Salih bin Habib bin Zuhair al-‘Absi. The text reads: “I testify that the letter of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d reached ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad and I was with him. [Ibn Ziyad] said...” (al-Tabari:۵:۴۱۱).

[Hassan] was among those who fought Mukhtar and his followers along side [Rashid bin Ayas, the head of the bodyguards of ‘Abdullah bin Muti’ al-‘Adawi, Abdullah bin Zubair’s governor in Kufah (۶:۲۶). He was with Ibn Muti’ during the siege of the palace [in Kufah] (۶:۳۱). He was killed in the outskirts of Kufah in ۶۴ H with the followers of Ibn Muti’ (۶:۴۹).

The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib writes: “Ibn Hibban

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.(Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۵:۶۵ -۱

has mentioned him in al-Thuqat. Regarding the meaning of [the word] al-jibt which has appeared in [verse ۵۱ of] Surat al-Nisa', al-Bukhari narrates from Shu'bah, who related from Abu Ishaq al-Subi'i, who in turn was reporting from [Hassan], that 'Umar bin al-Khattab said: 'Al-jibt means sorcery (sihr).' Al-Bukhari [then] says: 'He is (counted among the Kufans.'"(۱)

Abu 'Umarah al-'Absi. [Abu Mikhnaf narrates from him] through Abu Ja'far al-'Absi: .۱۹ the words of Yahya bin al-Hakam bin al-'Ass and the report about [what transpired in] .(the court of Yazid (al-Tabari:۵:۴۶۰-۴۶۱

Qasim bin Bukhait. He related reports about the heads [of the martyrs] in . ۲۰ Damascus; the speech of Yahya bin al-Hakam ibn al-'Ass, the brother to Marwan; the words of Hind, the wife of Yazid; and the poking of Yazid at the teeth of al-Husayn (as) with a cane. These reports have been narrated from [Qasim] through two links, .(namely: Abu Hamzah al-Thumali, who reported from 'Abdullah al-Thumali (۵:۴۶۵

Abu al-Kanud 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Ubaid. [Abu Mikhnaf narrates from him, through .۲۱ Sulaiman bin Rashid, the verses [recited by] Umm Luqman, daughter of 'Aqil bin Abi .(Talib (al-Tabari:۵:۴۶۶

Abu Kanud] was the governer of Kufah for Ziyad bin Abih (۵:۲۴۶). Later, he became] among the followers of Mukhtar and claimed to have killed Shamir (۶:۵۳). Tabari has narrated from him nine reports [in his Tarikh] through Abu Mikhnaf, as reported in al-.A'lam

Fatimah, daughter of 'Ali, as Tabari calls her. [Abu Mikhnaf relates from her] what .۲۲ took place in the court of Yazid, through Harith

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.(Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۲:۲۵۱ -۱

.(bin Ka'b al-Walibi al-Azdi (al-Tabari:۵:۴۶۱-۴۶۲

These are twenty one people [with the exception of Zaidah bin Qudamah (no. ۹)] who were either in direct contact with the events or were living in that period and [thus] reported them. Abu Mikhnaf narrated [the reports] from them through one or two .links

The Fifth List

.These are the intermediary narrators (wasait), who are twenty nine in number

Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Masahiq bin 'Abdullah bin Makhramah. He related the' .۱ verses of the Imam (as) when he was leaving Madinah, through Abu Sa'd Sa'id bin Abi .(Sa'id al-Maqbari (al-Tabari:۵:۳۴۲

He has [also] narrated, without stating his link, Mu'awiyah's appointment of Yazid at the time of his death as his heir apparent; the speech of Dahhak bin Qais al-Fihri, the head of Mu'awiyah's bodyguards and the person in charge of his burial; and the verses recited by Yazid when the messenger brought him the news of his father's .death

Tabari has narrated fifteen reports from him [in his Tarikh] through Abu Mikhnaf, who was relating from ['Abd al-Malik], who reported from some other person. Most of these reports are about Ibn al-Zubair's revolt in Makkah, the revolt of 'Abdullah bin .HanZalah in Madinah, and the event of Harrah

He related one of these reports from his father, Naufal (۵:۴۷۴), the other from 'Abdullah bin 'Urwah (۵:۴۷۸) and the third one from Humaid bin Hamzah, who was among the associates of the Banu Umayyah (۵:۴۷۹). He narrated the other seven reports from Habib bin Karrah, also an associate of the Banu Umayyah

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and the standard bearer of Marwan bin al-Hakam (۵:۴۸۲۵۳۹). His last narration was .(from Sa'id bin 'Amru bin Sa'id bin al-'Ass al-Ashdaq (۵:۵۷۷

Accordingly, it is highly probable that [‘Abd al-Malik] was narrating the reports about the will of Mu’awiyah and his burial from these associates of the Banu Umayyah, .though he does not mention their names

His father, Naufal bin Musahiq, was at the head of [either] two or five thousand soldiers under the governship of Ibn Muti for Ibn al-Zubair. [In an encounter,] Ibn al-Ashtar al-Nakha’i approached him raising his sword [to kill him], but then he let him go .((۶:۳۰

He has been considered as reliable in Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۵:۴۲۸) and [also] in al-Kashif .(of al-Dhahabi (۲:۲۱۶

Abu Sa’id ‘Aqisa. He narrated from some of his companions the conversation of .۲ Imam al-Husayn (as), while he was in the state of ihram, with Ibn al-Zubair inside the .(Sacred mosque in Makkah. (al-Tabari:۵:۳۸۵

In the first part of [his book] al-Khulasah, ‘Allamah al-Hilli counts him among the companions of ‘Ali (as).(۱) Al-Dhahabi mentions him in Mizan al-I’tidal and says: “He has narrated [reports] from ‘Ali (as).” He then says: “He is reliable and his name was (Dinar. He was a Shi‘ah and he died in ۱۲۵ H.”(۲

The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib writes: “Al-Waqidi says that he was a reliable person and has narrated many reports, and died in ۱۰۰ H. According to Ibn Sa‘d, he ”.died during the caliphate of Walid bin ‘Abd al-Malik

It is said that ‘Umar [bin al-Khattab] had made him

.(Al-Khulasah (pg.۱۹۳ -۱

Mizan al-I’tidal (۲:۱۳۹ and ۳:۸۸). In a report which has appeared in Kamil al-Ziyarah of -۲ Ibn Qulawayh (pg.۲۳) and whose chain of narration ends at [Abu Sa’id], the latter says: “After ‘Abdullah bin al-Zubair had a lengthy talk with [al-Husayn] in privacy, al-Husayn (as) turned to the people and I heard him saying: ‘This man is telling me: ‘Be a pigeon

among the pigeons of this Sacred sanctuary.' Indeed, it is more preferable to me to be killed at an arms length from the holy sanctuary that at a span from it; and it is dearer to me to be killed on the banks [of the Euphrates] than to be killed in [this] Haram." Based on this chain of narration, [Abu Sa'id] directly heard [the words of] the Imam (as), contrary to the manner Abu Mikhnaf narrates [the report] from him. [Anyhow,] al-Kamil is more complete (akmal) [and correct in case of contradiction between what .[has appeared in it and what Abu Mikhnaf has narrated

in charge of digging graves. According to another view, he used to reside in the cemetery area and thus came to be known as 'al-Maqbari' (۸:۴۵۳). This view has .(appeared in Lisan al-Mizan also (۲:۴۲۲

Abd al-Rahman bin Jundab al-Azdi. He has narrated all his reports from 'Uqbah bin' .۳ Sim'an. Tabari has related from him around thirty reports about the battles of Jamal, Siffin, Nahrawan and [reports on the event of] Karbala', which he narrated from .'Uqbah bin Sim'an

Ibn Jundab] has directly narrated reports about Hajjaj. He fought Shabib, the Khariji,] with the army of Hajjaj alongside Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi at Rudbar, in the year ۷۶ H (Al-Tabari:۶:۲۴۴). He was taken as a prisoner and paid allegiance to Shabib out of fear (۶:۲۴۶). [Later,] he returned to Kufah and was present in the city when Hajjaj addressed [the people] with the intention of dispatching an army, for the .(second time, against Shabib in ۷۷ H (۶:۲۶۲

Al-Ardabili, quoting from al-Rijal al-Wasit of Astarabadi, counts ['Abd al-Rahman] among the companions of 'Ali (as).(۱) Al-'Asqalani mentions him in Lisan al-Mizan and says: "He has narrated [reports] from Kumail bin Ziyad, and Abu Hamzah al-Thumali (has reported from him."(۲

Hajjaj bin 'Ali al-Bariqi al-Hamdani. He has narrated all his reports from Muhammad .۴ bin Bishr al-Hamdani (see the fourth list, no.۳). Of the reports that Tabari has related from him [in his Tarikh], none of his reports are from other than Ibn Bishr. The author of Lisan al-Mizan mentions him and says: "A great

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۱- Jami' al-Ruwat (۱:۴۴۷).

۲- Lisan al-Mizan (۳:۴۰۸; Haiderabad edition).

personality (shaikh) from whom Abu Mikhnaf has narrated."(۱)

۵. Numair bin Wa'lah al-Hamdani al-Yana'i. He narrated [reports] from Abu al-Waddak Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdani, Ayyub bin Mashrah al-Khayawani and Rabi' bin Tamim al-Hamdani.

Tabari has narrated ten reports from him [in his Tarikh], the last of which is from al-Sha'bi about Hajjaj's court in the year ۸۰ H (al-Tabari:۶:۳۲۸).

Al-'Asqalani mentions him in Lisan al-Mizan saying: "He has narrated [reports] from al-Sha'bi and Abu Mikhnaf from him."(۲) The same [assertion] has appeared in al-Mughni.(۳)

۶. Saq'ab bin Zuhair al-Azdi. He transmitted reports from Abu 'Uthman al-Nahdi, 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifah al-Sawai, 'Abd al-Rahman bin Shuraih al-Ma'afiri al-Iskandarani -who died in Alexandria in ۱۶۷ H as reported in Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (al-Tabari:۶:۱۹۳), 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Rahman bin al-Harith bin Hisham al-Makhzumi and Humaid bin Muslim.

Tabari narrates twenty reports from him [in his Tarikh], all of which are through Abu Mikhnaf who was relating them from [Saq'ab]. Three of these reports are about the death of the Prophet of Allah (S). [Saq'ab] was present with 'Ali (as) at Siffin and thus related the words of 'Ammar bin Yasir (۵:۳۸). He also narrated the report about the martyrdom of Hujr bin 'Adiyy (۵:۲۵۳). Nine of these [reports] are pertaining to the event of Karbala' and [another] three about Mukhtar.

The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib says: "Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in al-Thuqat. Abu Zar'ah says that he was reliable, while according to Abu Hatim, he is a master (shaikh) who is not renowned."(۴)

It has appeared in the footnote of

۱- Ibid, (۲:۱۷۸).

۲- Ibid, (۶:۱۷۱).

۳- Al-Mughni (۲:۷۰۱; Dar al-Da'wah publications).

۴- Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۴:۴۳۲).

the book Khulasah Tadhhib Tahdhib al-Kamal that Abu Zar'ah has attested to his reliability.(۱)

۷. Mu'alla bin Kulaib al-Hamdani. He narrated [reports] from Abu al-Waddak Jabr bin Nauf al-Hamdani (see the fourth list, no.۴).

۸. Yusuf bin Yazid bin Bakr al-Azdi. He related [reports] from 'Abdullah bin Khazim al-Azdi and 'Afif bin Zuhair bin Abi al-Akhnas.

His full name has appeared in al-Tabari (۶:۲۸۴), from whom he has reported fifteen reports. He lived until after the year ۷۷ H. Al-Dhahabi mentions him in Mizan al-I'tidal and says: "He was truthful and noble. He was from Basrah. A group [of narrators] have related [reports] from him. He has been praised by a number of people. His narrations [are reliable and] can be recorded."(۲)

The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib writes: "Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in al-Thuqat. Al-Maqdisi says that he was reliable. According to Abu Hatim, his narrations can be recorded."(۳) He has mentioned in Khulasah Tadhhib Tahdhib al-Kamal also.(۴)

۹. Yunus bin Abi Ishaq, 'Amru bin 'Abdullah al-Subi'i al-Hamdani al-Kufi. He reported from 'Abbas bin Ju'dah al-Jadali about his coming out with Muslim bin 'Aqil (as) with four thousand [men].

In his valuable book al-Muraja'at, our master [al-Sayyid] Sharaf al-Din says:

"The fact that his father, Abu Ishaq 'Amru bin 'Abdillah al-Subi'i al-Hamdani was a Shi'ah has been asserted by Ibn Qutaibah in his al-Ma'arif and al-Shahristani in al-Milal wa al-Nihal. He was among the leading scholars in hadith, whose stands in

theological (usul) and juridical (furu') matters have not been praised [and approved] ;by the Nawasib

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.(Al-Khulasah (pg.۱۷۶; Dar al-Da'wah publications -۱

.(Mizan al-I'tidal (۴:۴۷۵ -۲

.(Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۱۱:۴۲۹ -۳

.(Al-Khulasah (pg.۴۴۰ -۴

this is because they adhered, in these issues, to the path of the Ahl al-Bait (as) and .were devoted in following them in everything related to the religion

This is why al-Juzjani says [about him] -as it appears in the biography of Zubaid in Mizan al-I'tidal(۱): 'There was a group from among the people of Kufah whose religious views [and beliefs] were not applauded by the people. [This group comprised] the leading scholars of hadith in Kufah, such as Abu Ishaq, Mansur, Zubaid al-Yami, al-A'mash and their contemporaries. They were tolerated by the people because of their truthfulness in speech. However, in cases where they did not give complete chains of transmission (arsalu), people hesitated to accept their narrations. Among such cases in which the Nawasib were reluctant to accept the mursal narrations of Abu Ishaq was 'Umar bin Isma'il's report which he narrated from Abu Ishaq [himself], as reported in Mizan al-I'tidal under his biography.(۲) [Abu Ishaq] says that the Prophet of Allah (S) said: 'The example of 'Ali is that of a tree whose root is me and its ".'branch is 'Ali. Al-Hasan and al-Husayn are its fruits, and the Shi'ah are its leaves

Sayyid Sharaf al-Din further adds: "Al-Mughirah did not say what has been reported in Mizan al-I'tidal that 'None other than Abu Ishaq and al-A'mash have spoiled the hadith of the people of Kufah'(۳), or 'Abu Ishaq and your U'aimash(۴) have destroyed the Kufans'(۵), except for the reason that they were Shi'ah and sincere to the progeny

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.(Mizan al-I'tidal (۲:۶۶; Aleppo edition -۱

.(Ibid, (۳:۲۴۶ -۲

.(Ibid, (۳:۲۷۰ -۳

U'aimash is the dimunitive noun of A'mash. It has been used here by al-Mughirah -۴ .for the purpose of belittling the personality of A'mash

.(Ibid, (۲:۲۲۴ -۵

of Muhammad (S), and that they used to preserve what has come in the Sunnah of ".their virtues, peace be upon them

Sayyid Sharaf al-Din then says: "The authors of the Sihah and others have adduced (the narrations of each of these two [i.e. Abu Ishaq and A'mash] as proofs."(۱)

According to al-Wafayat, Abu Ishaq was born three years before the end of the caliphate of 'Uthman, that is in ۳۳ H, and he died in ۱۳۲ H, as reported by Ibn Ma'in and .al-Madaini

His son, Yunus bin Abi Ishaq, has narrated [reports] from him. [Yunus] died in the year ۱۵۹ H while he was in his ninties, if not above that, as reported by Mizan al-I'tidal.(۲) He is the one who related to Abu Mikhnaf the report on the uprising of Muslim (as) in Kufah from 'Abbas bin Ja'dah. There is another report by [Yunus] in al-Tabari, apart from this one, regarding the dispatching of troops by Ibn Ziyad to besiege al-Husayn (as) before his arrival in Kufah; though he does not specify from whom he was narrating it (۵:۳۹۴). Tabari has narrated another eleven reports from him [in al-Tarikh] .through Abu Mikhnaf, and other thirteen reports through other than Abu Mikhnaf

The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib says: "Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in al-Thuqat. Ibn Ma'in says that he is reliable. According to Abu Hatim, he was truthful. Al-Nassa'i says that there is no objection about him. According to Ibn 'Adiyy, he has agreeable (hisan) narrations and people have related from

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.(Al-Muraja'at (pg.۱۰۰; al-Sadiq publications -۱

.(Mizan al-Itidal (۴:۴۸۳ -۲

(him." He then says: "He died in the year ۱۵۹ H."(۱)

۱۰. Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid al-Azdi. He narrated [reports] from 'Abdullah bin Khazim al-Bakri al-Azdi, Humaid bin Muslim al-Azdi and Abu al-Kanud 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Ubaid.

Tabari has narrated twenty of his reports [in his Tarikh], most of which are through [some] intermediaries. He was alive till ۸۵ H (al-Tabari:۶:۳۶۰).

۱۱. Mujalid bin Sa'id al-Hamdani. He narrated from 'Amir al-Sha'bi al-Hamdani his report about the [the events] of Qasr Banu Muqatil (al-Tabari:۵:۴۰۷).

He has another report with an incomplete chain of narration (mursal) in which he does not mention anyone from whom he was relating it, regarding the betrayal of Muslim bin 'Aqil by the people [of Kufah] and his loneliness, his entering the house of Taw'ah, the speech of Ibn Ziyad, the [disclosure of the] news by Bilal bin Taw'ah and the dispatch of Ibn al-Ash'ath by Ibn Ziyad to fight Muslim (as) (۵:۳۷۱-۳۷۳).

Tabari has narrated seventy reports from him [in his Tarikh], most of which are from al-Sha'bi. Abu Mikhnaf describes him as al-muhaddith [i.e. the narrator] (۵:۴۱۳).

Al-Dhahabi mentions him in Mizan al-I'tidal and says: "He was well-known and was a narrator. According to al-Ashbah, he was a Shi'ah. Mujalid died in ۱۴۳ H." Al-Dhahabi then relates from al-Bukhari that the latter, while mentioning the biography of Mujalid, narrated from him [a report] which he related from al-Sha'bi, that Ibn 'Abbas said: "When Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah (S), was born, he named her al-Mansurah. So Jibrail descended [onto

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۱- Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۱:۴۳۳).

the Prophet (S)] and said: 'O Muhammad! Allah is sending greetings to you and to your [newly] born child, and He says: 'No child has been born dearer to me than her.' He

has given her a name better than what you have named her, he has named her (Fatimah; as she will save (tufattimu) her followers (shi'ah) from the hell fire.'"(١)

Al-Dhahabi then falsifies the [above] tradition under the pretext that she was born before the advent (bi'thah) of the Holy Prophet (S). It was because of this very narration that al-Dhahabi called him a Shi'ah!

١٢. Qudamah bin Sa'id bin Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi. He related from his grandfather, Zaidah bin Qudamah, the coming out of Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath to fight and capture Muslim bin 'Aqil (as), and [also Muslim's] request for water at the gate of the palace and [the way he] was given the water (al-Tabari:٥:٣٧٣٣٧٥).

Tabari mentions him [in his Tarikh] without ascribing his report to his father or grandfather, which apparently does not seem to be correct; as he did not witness the events of Kufah. Rather, it was his grandfather, Zaidah, who witnessed the events and was in contact with them. He was in the company of 'Amru bin Huraith -who had raised the banner of safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyad at the central mosque of Kufah [for anyone who wished to abandon Ibn 'Aqil]- when Ibn Ziyad ordered them to send seventy men from [the tribe of] Qais with Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath to fight Muslim ((٥:٣٧٣)).

١- Mizan al-I'tidal (٣:٤٣٨). It has been said that he died in the month of Dhu al-Hijjah ١٤٣ or ١٤٤ H, as reported in Tahdhib al-Tahdhib.

It was there that Zaidah interceded [with Ibn Ziyad] on behalf of his cousin Mukhtar ((٥:٥٧٠)).

With regard to Qudamah bin Sa'id [himself], Shaikh [al-Tusi] has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sadiq (as)(١). His biography has been mentioned earlier [see the fourth list (no.٩)].

١٣. Sa'id bin Mudrik bin 'Umarah bin 'Uqbah bin Abi Mu'it al-Umawi. He narrated from

his grandfather, 'Umarah bin 'Uqbah, the report about sending his servant, Qais, to his house to bring water for Muslim bin 'Aqil at the gate of the palace, before he was .(taken to Ibn Ziyad (۵:۳۷۶

The text reads: "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Sa'id narrated to me... that 'Umarah bin 'Uqbah..." This report implies that [Sa'id] was in direct contact with the events and was not narrating it from any other person. [However,] this is highly improbable and it .seems that he was narrating it from his grandfather, 'Umarah

Regarding this particular incident, we have given precedence to the report of Qudamah bin Sa'id -for reasons which we have mentioned in its appropriate place in this book- according to which it was [in fact] 'Amru bin Huraith, and not 'Umarah, who .[brought the water [for Ibn 'Aqil

Abu Janab Yahya bin Abi Hayyah al-Wada'i al-Kalbi. He narrated [reports] from .۱۴ 'Adiyy bin Harmalah al-Asadi, on the authority of 'Abdullah bin Sulaim and Mudhri bin al-Mushma'il, who were both from the tribe of Asad; and from Hani' bin Thubait al-.Hadhrami

At times he [also] used to relate [reports] without mentioning his links. Among such

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.(Rijal al-Tusi (pg.۲۷۵; Najaf edition -۱

reports is the one about the conversation of the followers of Muslim (as) with Ibn Ziyad (al-Tabari:۵:۳۶۹۳۷۰) and the one about the sending of the heads of Muslim and Hani' to Yazid by Ibn Ziyad, with a letter to him concerning the matter (۵:۳۸۰). [However,] it seems, as mentioned earlier, that he was narrating the above reports from his brother Hani' bin Abi Hayyah al-Wada'i al-Kalbi, the one who was sent by Ibn .(Ziyad to Yazid with the letter and the head of Muslim (۵:۳۸۰

Tabari has narrated twenty three reports from him [in his Tarikh], nine of which are about the battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawan, all of which are through

intermediaries. Another nine are regarding [the event of] Karbala', five of which are through intermediaries, while three of them have no chains of narration. It appears, however, that the [last] three [narrations] were also reported through [some] links and that he was not among those who were in direct contact with the events, though, it seems, that he lived at the time these events occurred.

He has been mentioned last [in al-Tabari] when he narrated [a report] -through an incomplete chain of narration- regarding the letter of Musa'b bin al-Zubair to Ibrahim bin al-Ashtar after the death of Mukhtar, inviting him to [support and pay allegiance to] him in the year ۶۷ H (۶:۱۱۱).

The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib says: "Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in al-Thuqat. According to Ibn Numair, Ibn Kharash, Abu Zur'ah and al-Saji, he was from

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Kufah and was truthful. Abu Na'im says that there is no objection about him, and he died in ۱۵۰ H. According to Ibn Ma'in, he died in ۱۴۷ H."(۱)

۱۵. Harith bin Ka'b bin Fuqaim al-Walibi al-Azdi al-Kufi. He narrated [his reports] from 'Uqbah bin Sim'an, 'Ali bin al-Husayn and Fatimah bint 'Ali (as).

[Harith] was among the followers of Mukhtar (al-Tabari:۶:۲۳), but he changed his opinion after him and [believed] in the divine leadership (imamah) of 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as) and began narrating from him (۵:۳۸۷). It seems that he had moved from Kufah to Madinah after he heard [narrations from] Imam Zain al-'Abidin and Fatimah bint 'Ali (as) (۵:۴۶۱).

Shaikh al-Tusi counted him in his Rijal among the companions of 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as). However, according to the Najaf edition of his Rijal, he calls him Hurr bin Ka'b al-Azdi al-Kufi, whereas the editor [of that book] names him 'Harith' in the footnote, quoting it from another transcript [of Rijal al-Tusi], which is in fact the correct opinion.

۱۶. Isma'il bin 'Abd al-Rahman bin Abi Karimah al-Suddi al-Kufi. He related from Fazari the report about Zuhair bin al-Qain.

Al-Dhahabi writes in Mizan al-I'tidal: "He was accused of being a Shi'ah and that he used to revile Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Ibn 'Adiyy says: I consider him trustworthy. Ahmad says: he was reliable. According to Yahya bin Sa'id, I have not seen anyone mentioning al-Suddi except with good, and none has abandoned [his narrations]. Shu'bah and al-Thauri have narrated [reports] from him."(۲)

Tabari has related

۱- Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۱۱:۲۰۱).

۲- Mizan al-I'tidal (۱:۲۳۶; Aleppo edition).

eighty four reports from him [in his Tarikh], reports concerning the events of after ۱۰۰ H [even].

According to Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۱) and al-Kashif,(۲) he died in ۱۲۷ H. He used to sit at the gate (suddah) of the central mosque in Kufah, and thus came to be known as 'al-Suddi'. He was an associate of the Quraish. He has [also] narrated [reports] from al-Hasan (as).

۱۷. Abu 'Ali al-Ansari. He related from Bakr bin Mus'ab al-Muzniyy his report about the martyrdom of 'Abdullah bin Yuqtur. This is the only report mentioned in al-Tabari from him. There is no mention of him [either] in the works of Rijal.

۱۸. Laudhan. He narrated from his uncle the report of his meeting with al-Husayn (as) on his way [to Kufah]. His identity is not known.

۱۹. Jamil bin Marthad al-Ghanawi. He related a report from Tirimmah bin 'Adiyy al-Tai.

۲۰. Abu Zuhair al-Nadhr bin Salih bin Habib al-'Absi. He reported from Hassan bin Faid bin Bukair al-'Absi his report about the letter of Ibn Sa'd to Ibn Ziyad and the latter's reply; and also from Qurrah bin Qais al-Tamimi his report regarding Hurr [al-Riyahi].

[Abu Zuhair] has thrity one narrations in al-Tabari. He lived during the time of Mukhtar

(al-Tabari:۶:۸۱). He then came out with the army of Mus'ab bin al-Zubair to fight Qutriyy, the Khariji, in ۶۸ H (۶:۱۲۷). Later he became the gatekeeper of Mutarraf bin al-Mughirah bin Shu'bah al-Thaqafi, the Khariji, in Madain in ۷۷ H. He was a submissive young man and used to stand

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.(Tahdhib alTahdhib (۱:۳۱۳ -۱

.(Ibid, (۱:۲۳۶ -۲

by [Mutarraf's] head with his sword (۶:۲۸۷۲۸۹). He fought the army of Hajjaj along with .(Mutarraf in ۷۷ H (۶:۲۹۸) and then returned to Kufah (۶:۲۹۹

Imam al-Razi mentions [Abu Zuhair] in his al-Jurh wa al-Ta'dil and says: "I heard my father saying that: Abu Mikhnaf has narrated from him, while he was narrating from ('Ali (as) through [some] links."(۱

۲۱. Harith bin Husairah al-Azdi. He related [reports] from 'Abdullah bin Sharik al-'Amiri .[al-Nahdi and [also] from 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as) through ['Abdullah

Al-Dhahabi mentions him in Mizan al-I'tidal and says: "Abu Ahmad al-Zubairi says: 'He believed in the return of the pious (raj'ah). According to Yahya bin Ma'in, he was reliable and was a khashabi, attributed to the 'wood' (khashabah) on which Zayd bin 'Ali was crucified [i.e. he was the follower of Zayd]. Ibn 'Adiyy says that he was among the fanatic Shi'ah in Kufah. Abu Hatim al-Razi believes that he was among the early (Shi'ah; he would have been forsaken had al-Thauri not narrated reports from him."(۲

Al-Dhahabi narrates [a report] from Harith bin Husairah -when mentioning the biography of Nufay' bin al-Harith al-Nakha'i al-Hamdani al-Kufi, the blind one- and [then] says: "He is truthful, but he is a rafidhi [i.e. a Shi'ah]. He has narrated a tradition from 'Imran bin Husayn, who said: 'I was sitting with the Prophet (S) and 'Ali was by his side when the Prophet (S) recited: 'Is not he [best] who answers the distressed when he calls to him, and removes the distress and makes

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.(Al-Jurh wa al-Ta'dil (۸:۴۷۷ -۱

.(Mizan al-I'tidal (۱:۴۳۲; Aleppo edition -۲

you the successors in the earth...'(۱).'Ali [started] shivering [upon hearing the verse]. So the Prophet (S) tapped him with his hand and said: 'None other than a believer will (love you, and none other than a hypocrite will hate you, till the Day of Judgement."(۲

Tabari has narrated ten reports from him [in his Tarikh], all of which are through Abu .Mikhnaf

Shaikh al-Tusi has mentioned him in his Rijal in the circle of the companions of Amir (al-Mu'minin ['Ali](as).(۳

Abdullah bin 'Asim al-Faishi al-Hamdani. He related the reports of Dahhak bin' .۲۲ .'Abdullah al-Mushriqi al-Hamdani

Al-Ardabili says in Jami' al-Ruwat: "There is a report in al-Kafi by ['Abdullah] from Imam al-Sadiq (as) concerning the time of tayammum. Al-'Asqalani has mentioned him in al-Tahdhib. According to Basair al-Darajat, Aban bin 'Uthman and Ja'far bin (Bashir have narrated [reports] from him."(۴

Abu al-Dahhak. He related the report about the night of 'Ashura' from 'Ali bin al- .۲۳ .(Husayn (as

Al-Dhahabi has mentioned him Mizan al-I'tidal (۳:۵۴۰; Haiderabad edition) and .al-'Asqalani in Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۱۲:۱۳۶) saying that Shu'bah has reported from him

Amru bin Murrah al-Jamali. He related the report of the retainer of 'Abd Rabbih al-' .۲۴ Ansari, on the authority of Abu Salih al-Hanafi, regarding the joking of his master with .(Burair bin Khudhair (al-Tabari:۵:۴۲۳

Al-Dhahabi has mentioned him in his Mizan al-I'tidal (۳:۲۸۸). So has al-'Asqalani in Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۸:۱۰۲) and says: "Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in al-Thuqat and

says that he died in ۱۱۶ H. Ahmad bin Hanbal has commended him and says that he died in

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.Qur'an, ۲۷:۶۲ -۱

.(Mizan al-I'tidal (۴:۲۷۲ -۲

Rijal al-Tusi (pg.۳۹; Najaf edition). He also mentions him among the companions of -۳ .Imam al-Baqir (as) as Harith bin Husayn al-Azdi, which is incorrect

.(Jami' al-Ruwat (۱:۴۹۴ -۴

H. According to al-Bukhari, he has narrated around two hundred traditions from ۱۱۸ 'Ali (as). Shu'bah says that he was the most learned [of the narrators]. Abu Hatim ".maintains that he was truthful and reliable. According to Ibn Ma'in, he was reliable

Ata' bin al-Saib. He narrated the report of Masruq bin Wail al-Hadhrami, on the' .۲۵ authority of his brother 'Abd al-Jabbar bin Wail al-Hadhrami, on the falling of Ibn .(Hawzah at the beginning of the battle (al-Tabari:۵:۴۳۱

Al-'Asqalani refers to ['Abd al-Jabbar] in Tahdhib al-Tahdhib as 'Abd al-Jabbar bin Wail. He then says: "He has narrated from his brother. Ibn Hibban has mentioned him ".in al-Thuqat and said that he died in ۱۱۲ H

Ata was from Makkah. He witnessed the demolition of the Ka'bah and its renovation' .(by Ibn Zubair in the year ۶۴ H (۵:۵۸۲). Hajjaj did not kill him in the year ۹۴ H (۶:۴۸۸

The author of Tahdhib al-Tahdhib writes that: "Ibn Hibban has mentioned him in al-".Thuqat. So has Ibn Sa'd in his al-Tabaqat and said that he died in ۱۳۷ H

Ali bin HanZalah bin As'ad al-Shabami al-Hamdani. He related the report of Kathir' .۲۶ bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'bi al-Hamdani about the speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain (al-.(Tabari:۵:۴۲۶

Ali bin HanZalah is the same Ibn HanZalah bin As'ad al-Shabami, who [is said to have' been] martyred from among the companions of al-Husayn (as). [However,] it appears

that he was either not present in Karbala’, or he was considered very young [by the enemy] and thus was not killed. He

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has not narrated any report directly. He related this report here, rather, from Kathir bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bi, the assassin of Zuhair bin al-Qain.

۲۷. Husayn bin ‘Uqbah al-Muradi. He narrated from al-Zubaidiyy the attack launched by ‘Amru bin al-Hajjaj al-Zubaidiyy [on the day of ‘Ashura’].

۲۸. Abu Hamzah Thabit bin Dinar al-Thumali. He related from Qasim bin Bukhait, on the authority of ‘Abdullah al-Thumali, his report about the captives in Sham (۵:۴۶۵). Abu Hamzah is too renowned to be mentioned here.

۲۹. Abu Ja’far al-‘Absi. He related the report of Abu ‘Umarah al-‘Absi about the verses recited by Yahya bin al-Hakam.

These were the twenty nine people who served as links between Abu Mikhnaf and those who had witnessed the events.

The Sixth List

It comprises the narrations from the Aimmah (as) or from the narrators among their companions, and the [reports of the] historians. They are fifteen in number.

۱. Imam ‘Ali bin al-Husayn, Zain al-‘Abidin (as). He narrated the letter of ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far to Imam al-Husayn (as), through his two sons ‘Aun and Muhammad; the letter of ‘Amru bin Said bin al-‘As al-Ashdaq, through his brother Yahya bin Said al-‘As, to al-Husayn (as) -as he was departing from Makkah- and his reply to him. Abu Mikhnaf related this through Harith bin Ka’b al-Walibi al-Azdi, who was reporting it from ‘Ali bin al-Husayn (as) (al-Tabari:۵:۳۸۷-۳۸۸). [Another narration from al-Sajjad (as) was] Imam al-Husayn’s request for respite for the night of ‘Ashura’ and the speech he delivered to his companions. Abu Mikhnaf was narrating this from Harith al-Azdi,

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who related it from ‘Abdullah bin Sharik al-‘Amiri al-Nahdi, and he from Imam Zain al-‘Abidin (as) (۵:۴۱۸). [Also] the verses recited by al-Husayn (as) on the night of ‘Ashura’ and the words of [Lady] Zainab and al-Husayn’s reply to her, which Abu Mikhnaf narrated from Harith al-Azdi and Abu al-Dahhak (۵:۴۲۰-۴۲۱).

۲. Imam Muhammad bin ‘Ali bin al-Husayn (as). [Abu Mikhnaf related from him] the martyrdom of the infant [of al-Husayn (as)], through ‘Uqbah bin Bashir al-Asadi (al-Tabari:۵:۴۴۸).

۳. Imam Ja’far bin Muhammad bin ‘Ali bin al-Husayn. [Abu Mikhnaf narrated from him through an incomplete chain of narration] the number of stab wounds and [sword] strikes on the body of al-Husayn (as) (al-Tabari:۵:۴۵۳).

۴. Zayd bin ‘Ali bin al-Husayn (as) and Dawud bin ‘Ubaidullah bin ‘Abbas. They related the words of the sons of ‘Aqil [on the night of ‘Ashura’] (al-Tabari:۵:۳۹۷).

It was ‘Amru bin Khalid al-Wasiti, an associate of the Banu Hashim, who narrated the report from them. He was [residing] in Kufah and later moved to Wasit. He has related from Zayd and [from] Imam al-Sadiq (as) [as well].

Al-Najjashi mentions [‘Amru] in his Rijal (pg.۲۰۵; India edition) saying: “He has a voluminous book from which Nasr bin Muzahim al-Minqari and others have narrated.” In his Rijal (pg.۱۲۸; Najaf edition), Shaikh al-Tusi considers him to be among the companions of Imam al-Baqir (as).”

Al-Mamqani has mentioned him in his al-Tanqih (۲:۳۳۰) and so has al-‘Asqalani in Tahdhib al-Tahdhib (۸:۳۶).

۵. Fatimah bint ‘Ali, as she has been referred to by al-Tabari. She narrated [what transpired

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in] the court of Yazid. [Abu Mikhnaf related this report from her] through Harith bin Ka’b al-Walibi al-Azdi (al-Tabari:۵:۴۶۱-۴۶۲). It is clear that the person who narrated

.[reports] from her and Imam al-Sajjad (as), is one and the same

Abu Sa’id ‘Aqisa. [Abu Mikhnaf related from him], through some of his companions, .۶ the conversation of Ibn al-Zubair with al-Husayn (as) in the Sacred mosque, while the .(latter was in the state of ihram (al-Tabari:۵:۳۸۵

Allamah al-Hilli mentions him in the circle of the companions of ‘Ali (as) in the first part‘ of his work, al-Khulasah.(۱) Al-Dhahabi mentions him in Mizan al-I’tidal saying: “He has related [reports] from ‘Ali (as).” He then says: “According to Shu’bah, he is reliable and his name is Dinar. He was a Shi‘ah who died in ۱۲۵ H.”(۲) We have already .[(mentioned him earlier [see the fourth list (no.۱

Muhammad bin Qais. He narrated: the letter of Imam al-Husayn (as) which he sent .۷ with Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi to the people of Kufah and the martyrdom of [Ibn Musahhar]; Muslim bin ‘Aqil’s letter to al-Husayn (as); the words of ‘Abdullah bin Muti’ al-‘Adawi to the Imam (as) and his reply, through an incomplete chain of narration (al-Tabari:۵:۳۹۴-۳۹۶); and the martyrdom of Habib bin MuZahir, [also] through an .(incomplete chain of narration (۵:۴۴۰

Al-Kashhi says: “[Muhammad once] informed Imam al-Baqir (as) [of his narrations], so he (as) stopped him from listening to such and such person.”(۳) Al-Kashhi [then] describes him as a defender of the divine leadership (imamah) of

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.(Al-Khulasah (pg.۱۹۳; Najaf edition -۱

.(Mizan al-I’tidal (۲:۱۳۹ -۲

.(Rijal al-Kashhi (pg.۳۴۰; hadith no.۶۳۰ -۳

(Imam al-Baqir (as).(۱

Al-Najjashi says regarding him: “He is a notable personality and reliable. He was from (Kufah. He has narrations from Abu Ja’far [al-Baqir] and Abu ‘Abdillah [al-Sadiq (as)]”.(۲

Shaikh al-Tusi has mentioned him in al-Fihrist under entries ۵۹۱ and ۶۴۴.(۳) In his Rijal,

al-Tusi has mentioned four persons, with this very name, to be among the (companions of Imam al-Sadiq (as).(۴) So has 'Allamah al-Hilli in al-Khulasah.(۵

Abdullah bin Sharik al-'Amiri al-Nahdi. He related from 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as): al-' .۸ Husayn's request for respite for the night of 'Ashura'; the Imam's speech to his companions; the verses recited by al-Husayn (as) on the night of 'Ashura', the words .(of [Lady] Zainab (as) and his reply to her (al-Tabari:۵:۴۱۸۴۲۰

He has also narrated through an incomplete chains of narration reports about the arrival of Shamir at Karbala' with the letter of safe-conduct for the brothers of 'Abbas (as), and Ibn Sa'd's advancing against al-Husayn (as) in the evening of the ninth of .(Muharram (۵: ۴۱۵۴۱۶

(Al-Kashhi says that he was a disciple of Imam al-Baqir and al-Sadiq (as).(۶

According to a narration, ['Abdullah] will return to this world and be at the service al-Qaim (as), may Allah hasten his reappearance.(۷) [Yet] according to another tradition, (he will be the standard bearer on that day."(۸

It appears from al-Tabari that he was one of the leading figures among the followers of Mukhtar (۶:۴۹,۵۱۱۰۴). He then joined Mus'ab (۶:۱۶۱). Later, he left him because of the safe-conduct from 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan (۶: ۱۶۱). [In any case,] he

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.(Ibid, (pg.۲۳۷; hadith no.۴۳۰ -۱

.(Rijal al-Najjashi (pg.۲۲۶; India edition -۲

.(Al-Fihrist (pg.۱۵۷۱۷۶ -۳

.(Rijal al-Tusi (pg.۲۹۸, entry no.۲۹۴; Najaf edition -۴

.(Al-Khulasah (pg.۱۵۰, entry no.۶۰ onwards; Najaf edition -۵

.(Rijal al-Kashhi (pg.۱۰, hadith no.۲۰ -۶

.(Ibid, (pg.۲۱۷, hadith no.۳۹۰ -۷

.(Ibid, (hadith no.۳۹۱ -۸

may have repented after this and thus became among the companions of the

.(Aimmah (as

Abu Khalid al-Kabuli. He related a report, through an incomplete chain of narration, .۹ about the supplication of al-Husayn (as) on the morning of [the day of] ‘Ashura’. (al-Tabari:۵:۴۲۳).

Tabari refers to him as Abu Khalid al-Kahili. But he has not been refered to by this name in any of the existing famous works of Rijal. [However,] the existing predominant view [about his name] is what we have mentioned [above], and which is .[in fact] the correct opinion

Al-Kashhi says that he fled from Hajjaj and hid himself in Makkah and was thus saved from him. He [then] served Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyyah, believing in his divine leadership (imamah). Later, he turned away from him to Imam al-Sajjad (as)(۱) and became his disciple from among his companions(۲). He served the Imam (as) for a long time before returning to his [home] town.(۳)

Shaikh al-Tusi has counted him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sajjad (as).(۴)

The editor of this work says: It seems to me that he was among those non-Arabs (mawali) who were [supporting] Mukhtar. And this is why he believed in the imamah of Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyyah and fled from Hajjaj; as there was no [other] reason .[for his fleeing from Hajjaj except that [he was with Mukhtar

Uqbah bin Bashir al-Asadi. He related from Imam al-Baqir (as) the martyrdom of‘ .۱۰ the infant [of al-Husayn (as)] (al-Tabari:۵:۴۵۳).

Al-Kashhi mentions him [in his Rijal] and says: “He sought the

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۱- Ibid, (pg.۱۲۴, hadith no.۱۹۵).

۲- Ibid, (pg.۹, hadith no.۲۰).

۳- Ibid, (pg.۱۲۱, hadith no.۱۹۳).

.('Rijal al-Tusi (pg.۱۰۰, entry no.۲, under the name 'Kankar -۴

permission of Imam al-Baqir (as) to be in charge of the monthly stipends of his people for the [then] ruler, but he (as) did not allow him." Al-Kashhi has brought the [above] (report of his under the narrations of the martyrdom of the infant.(۱

Shaikh al-Tusi has mentioned him in the circle of the companions of Imam 'Ali bin al-.(Husayn(۲) and al-Baqir (as)(۳

Uqbah al-Asadi has an elegy in al-Tabari in lamentation of the companions of' .(Mukhtar (۶:۱۱۶

Qudamah bin Sa'id bin Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi. He narrated from him .۱۱ grandfather: the coming out of Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath bin Qais al-Kindi to fight and capture Muslim bin 'Aqil (al-Tabari:۵:۳۷۳), and his request for water at the gate of .(the palace and [the way] it was granted (۵:۳۷۵

(Al-Tusi mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sadiq (as).(۴

Harith bin Ka'b al-Walibi al-Azdi. He narrated [reports] from 'Uqbah bin Sim'an, 'Ali .۱۲ .(bin al-Husayn (as) and Fatimah bint 'Ali (as

He was among the followers of Mukhtar (al-Tabari:۶:۲۳). He later moved to Madinah .[(and heard [narrations] from Imam [al-Sajjad (as

Al-Tusi has mentioned him in his Rijal among the companions of 'Ali bin al-Husayn ((as).(۵

Harith bin Hasirah al-Azdi. He related from 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as) on the authority .۱۳ of 'Abdullah bin Sharik al-'Amiri al-Nahdi. He has been mentioned earlier [see the fifth .[(list (no.۲۱

Al-Tusi mentions him among the companions of 'Ali [bin al-Husayn (as)] and al-Baqir ((as).(۶

Abu Hamzah Thabit bin Dinar al-Thumali al-Azdi. He was an Azdi through a treaty .۱۴

of friendship

p: ۸۲

.(Rijal alKashhi (pg.۲۰۳, hadith no.۳۵۸ -۱

.(Rijal al-Tusi (pg.۹۹, entry no.۳۲; Najaf edition -۲

.(Ibid, (pg.۱۲۹, entry no.۲۹ -۳

.(Ibid, (pg.۱۲۹, entry no.۲۹ -۴

.(Rijal al-Tusi (pg.۸۷; Najaf edition -۵

.(Ibid, (pg.۳۹۱۱۸ -۶

wala'). He related [reports] from Qasim bin Bukhait, on the authority of 'Abdullah al-) .(Thumali al-Azdi, regarding the captives in Sham (al-Tabari:۵:۴۶۵

Al-Kashhi mentions him and then relates a tradition from Imam al-Ridha (as) in which he said: "Abu Hamzah al-Thumali was in his time what Luqman was in his; this is because he served four of us: 'Ali bin al-Husayn, Muhammad bin 'Ali, Ja'far bin (Muhammad and Musa bin Ja'far for some time."(۱

Amir bin 'Abdullah bin Judha'ah al-Azdi [once] asked Abu 'Abdillah [al-Sadiq] (as)' about intoxicants (muskir). He replied: "Any kind of intoxicant is forbidden (haram)." ['Amir] then said: "But Abu Hamzah does drink." When the news reached Abu Hamzah, (he repented and said: "Now I seek Allah's forgiveness from it and repent to Him."(۲

One day] Abu Basir visited Imam al-Sadiq (as), so he (as) asked him about Abu] Hamzah. He replied: "He was sick when I left him." The Imam (as) said: "When you return to him, convey my greetings to him and inform him that he is going to die on a (certain day of a certain month."(۳

Ali bin al-Hasan bin Fadhdhal says: "Abu Hamzah, Zurarah and Muhammad bin' Muslim [all of them] died in the same year; a year or so after the demise of Abu ('Abdillah [al-Sadiq] (as).(۴

Al-Najjashi mentions him and says: "He was a non-Arab (maulan) from Kufah and he

was reliable. According to Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Ja'abi al-Tamimi, he was a retainer of Muhallab bin Abi Sufrah and his sons: Hamzah, Mansur and Nuh, all

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۱- Rijal al-Kashhi (pg.۲۰۳, hadith no.۳۵۷ and pg.۴۸۵, hadith no.۹۱۹).

۲- Ibid, (pg.۲۰۱, hadith no.۳۵۴; Mashad edition).

۳- Ibid, (pg.۲۰۲, hadith no.۳۵۶).

۴- Ibid, (pg.۲۰۱, hadith no.۳۵۳).

of whom were killed along with Zayd bin 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as). He lived during the times of 'Ali bin al-Husayn, Abu Ja'far, Abu 'Abdillah and Abu al-Hasan (as), and has reported from them. He was among our outstanding personalities, trustworthy and reliable in [his] narrations."(۱)

Shaikh [al-Tusi] brings him in al-Fihrist(۲) and mentions him in the circle of the companions of Imam al-Sajjad(۳), Imam al-Baqir(۴), Imam al-Sadiq(۵) and Imam al-KaZim (as).(۶)

Al-Dhahabi has mentioned him in al-Mizan(۷) and so has al-'Asqalani in Tahdhib al-Tahdhib.(۸)

These were the fourteen people from among the Aimmah (as) and their companions, who are part of the chains of narration (isnad) in this book.

[However,] there are [some] other people from whom Abu Mikhnaf has related [some] historical events, who were not eye-witnesses [of the event], rather they were historians, like 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifah al-Sawai al-Kufi (d.۱۱۶ H), as reported in Taqrib al-Tahdhib. [Abu Mikhnaf narrated from him,] among other reports, the date al-Husayn (as) left Madinah for Makkah, the duration of his stay in the city and his departure from Makkah, [all] through Saq'ab bin Zuhair.

The editor of this work says: We will content ourselves with this much as an introduction to this book, hoping that Allah, the Almighty, will grant us success in

achieving His pleasure, and in serving the unsubmitting to the oppression (abiyyu al-dhaim), the lord of martyrs, Husayn bin 'Ali (as).

And the last of our cry is all praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds.

Al-Husayn (as) In Madinah

Mu'awiyah's Last Will

Mu'awiyah's(٩) Last Will

Tabari reports

١- India edition; pg.٨٣), Ibid.

٢- Najaf edition; pg.۶۶) Al-Fihrist).

٣- Najaf edition; pg.٨۴) Rijal al-Tusi).

۴- pg.١١٠), Ibid).

۵- pg.١۶٠), Ibid).

۶- pg.٣۴۵), Ibid).

٧- ١:٣۶٣) Mizan al-I'tidal).

٨- ٢:٧) Tahdhib al-Tahdhib).

٩- Al-Tabari: Mu'awiyah bin Sakhr bin Harb bin Umayyah bin 'Abd Shams. He was born ٢۵ years before the migration [of the Prophet (S) to Madinah] (۵:٣٢۵). Mu'awiyah was with his father Abu Sufyan in all his battles against the Prophet (S). He embraced Islam together with his father in ٨ H, the year of the conquest of Makkah. The Prophet (S) then made him and his father in charge of the people whose hearts were to be won over (٣:٩٠). 'Umar appointed him as the governer of Sham (٣:۶٠۴) and he retained this position till 'Uthman was assassinated. He rose against 'Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, to avenge 'Uthman's blood and fought him at Siffin for the same. He continued to stand against the Commander of the Faithful until the latter was martyred. Therafter he fought Hasan bin 'Ali till the month of Jumad al-¬la of the year ۴١ H when he signed a peace treaty with him. This year came to be known as the Year

of Unity ('am al-jama'ah). He ruled for ١٩ years and just under three months and died in the beginning of Rajab of the year ۶٠ H, at the age of ٨۵, based on what Tabari narrated from al-Kalbi and who, in turn, was reporting from his father (۵:٣٢۵).

in his Tarikh (۵:٣٢٢) saying: "Thereafter began the year ۶٠ H...In this year Mu'awiyah took allegiance for Yazid from a delegation that had come to see him together with 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad.

His will was as Hisham bin Muhammad has reported from Abu Mikhnaf who says that 'Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musahiq bin 'Abdullah bin Makhramah has narrated to me saying:

"When Mu'awiyah became afflicted with the illness that took his life, he called upon his son Yazid(١) and said: My dear son! I have spared you the trouble of travelling and going from one place to another [for attaining the caliphate]; I have prepared the grounds for you; I have humbled the enemies for you; I have subjugated the Arabs for you; and I have produced a consensus [among them] in favour of you.(٢) I have no fear that anyone will contend with you in this matter which has already been settled in your favour, except for four people from the Quraish: Husayn bin 'Ali(٣), 'Abdullah bin 'Umar(۴),

'Abdullah bin al-Zubair(۵) and 'Abd al-Rahman bin Abi Bakr.(۶)

With regard to 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, he is a man exhausted by excessive devotion. If there remained none other than him, he would pay you allegiance.

As for Husayn bin 'Ali, the people of Iraq will never leave him until they cause him to rise.(٧) If he were to rise against you and you were to gain victory over him, then you should pardon him(٨); for he belongs to an important family and has a great

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١- Al-Tabari: He was born in the year ٢٨ H. His mother was Maisun bint Bajdal al-Kalbi. Mu'awiyah summoned the people in ۵۶ H to pay their allegiance to Yazid as his heir

apparent and in ۵۹ H he took allegiance from different delegations. Yazid assumed leadership in the beginning of Rajab ۶۰ H, a few months after reaching the age of ۳۲. He died at Hawwarin on the ۱۴th night of Rabi' al-Awwal ۶۴ H (۵:۴۹۹). Accordingly, he ruled for a period of ۳ years, ۸ months and ۱۴ days, and was ۳۶ years of age when he died. We shall comment in the coming pages on the presence of Yazid at his father's deathbed. In Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۳۵), Sibt bin al-Jawzi agrees [with the opinion that he was present]. The same has been reported by Shaikh al-Saduq in his Amali through a chain of narration which goes back to Imam 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as). Al-Khwarazmi narrates in his Maqtal al-Husayn (pg.۱۷۷) from Ahmad bin al-A'tham al-Kufi (d.۳۱۴ H) that Yazid was present at that moment, but then left for hunting and returned after three days. On his return, he entered the palace and was not seen for another three days. This might have been the case, or, perhaps, Mu'awiyah had two separate wills; one in the presence of Yazid and another in his absence, and which was reported by two people whom we shall mention later. For this very reason, we .find differences in the two wills

This was done over a period of ten years, from the year ۵۰ H uptil the time of his -۲ death in ۶۰ H. Tabari (۵:۳۰۱) has mentioned the [following] reason for that: In the year ۴۹ H, Mughirah bin Shu'bah had come to see Mu'awiyah from Kufah, fleeing from the plague that had then struck the city. Mughirah had been the governor in the city since the year ۴۱ H. He was complaining to Mua'wiyah of his deficiency and requested him to accept his resignation from the office. Mu'awiyah accepted his resignation and thought of appointing Sa'id bin al-'Ass in his place. This aroused Mughirah's jealosy and so he came to Yazid and proposed his allegiance to him as the crown prince. Yazid brought the matter to this father and he reinstated Mughirah in the office and ordered him to return to Kufah and prepare the people for Yazid's heir-apparency. So Mughirah went back to Kufah and discharged this duty and sent a delegation to Mu'awiyah for this purpose. Mu'awiyah wrote to Ziyad bin Sumayyah -who was then his governor in Basrah since ۴۵ H- asking for his advice on the issue. So Ziyad sent 'Ubaid bin Ka'ab al-Numairi al-Azdi to Yazid proposing that the latter should leave all detestable behavior so that it would be easier for the governors to rally people round him. Ziyad passed away in Kufah in the month of Ramadhan ۵۳ H, while he was in charge of Basrah and Kufah ('iraqain). Mu'awiyah went to 'umrah in the month of

Rajab ۵۶ H and there he announced that he had appointed Yazid as his successor and invited people to swear allegiance to him. Sa'id bin 'Uthman bin 'Affan approached Mu'awiyah and declared his opposition to that upon which Yazid intervened and requested him to be appointed as the governer of Khurasan, and Mu'awiyah did that. Marwan – who was then his governer in Madinah since the year ۵۴ H- also came to see Mu'awiyah and expressed his disapproval on the matter. This action so incensed Mu'awiyah that he dismissed him from the post in ۵۷ H, as reported by al-Tabari (۵:۳۰۹). Al-Mas'udi has extensively mentioned about Marwan's opposition in Muruj al-Dhahab (۳:۳۸). Finally, in the year ۶۰ H 'Ubaid Allah bin Ziyad -Mu'awiyah's governor in Basrah since ۵۵ H- dispatched a delegation to Mu'awiyah and he took their allegiance .(on Yazid's heir-apperency (۵:۳۲۲

Al-Tabari: He was born a few days after the beginning [of the month] of Sha'ban in -۳ the year ۴ H (۳:۵۵۵). He lived with his grandfather, the Messenger of Allah (S), for ۶ years, and with his father, the Commander of the Faithful ['Ali (as)], for ۳۰ years. In the year ۳۰ H and during the reign of 'Uthman, he took part in a military expedition to Khurasan together with his brother, al-Hasan (as), Hudhaifah bin al-Yamani, 'Abdullah bin 'Abbas and a number of other Prophet's companions, under the leadership of Sa'id bin al-'Ass (۴:۲۶۹). He spent ۱۰ years with his brother Hasan (as), while the period of his divine leadership (imamah), after al-Hasan (as), also lasted for ۱۰ years. He was a comtemporary of Mu'awiyah bin Abi Sufyan during these ten years until the latter's death. Al-Husayn (as) was martyred in Karbala' on Friday, ۱۰th of Muharram ۶۱ H and .was, at that time, fifty-six years and six months of age

Al-Tabari: He did not pay allegiance to 'Ali (as) after 'Uthman. 'Ali (as) is narrated to -۴ have told him: "You are ill-natured, both when you were a child and as a man" (۴:۴۲۸), or, according to another report, he said: "Had it not been because of what I know of your ill-nature, both as a child and now as a man, you would not have renounced me." (۴:۴۳۶). However, he prevented his sister, Hafsah, from accompanying 'Aishah when she rose [against 'Ali (as)] (۴:۴۵۱). He also refrained from joining Talhah and Zubair in their revolt against 'Ali (as) (۴:۴۶۰). Beside that, 'Abdullah bin 'Umar was the son in-law of Abu Musa al-Ash'ari. When the latter was approached for the arbitration, he invited 'Abdullah along with a group of other people. Al-Ash'ari also refused the proposal of 'Amru bin al-'Ass that 'Abdullah should be made the caliph. But when the matter was

settled in favour of Mu'awiyah, 'Abdullah took his side (۵:۵۸). Although he did not pay allegiance to Yazid at this stage, he wrote him a letter after the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as) requesting for the release of Mukhtar, his brother in-law. Yazid granted his request and 'Abdullah might have paid allegiance to him after this (۵:۵۷۱). But al-Mas'udi clearly states that he paid allegiance to Yazid through Walid, and to Marwan .(through Hajjaj (Muruj al-Dhahab: ۲:۳۱۶

Al-Tabari: He was born in the first or the second year of Hijrah. He defended - ۵ 'Uthman during the siege until he sustained injuries (۴:۳۲۸). He did this on the order of his father, Zubair (۴:۳۸۵), whom 'Uthman had entrusted with a will (۴:۳۸۷). 'Abdullah participated with his father in the battle of Jamal and prevented him from repenting (۴:۵۰۲), at the time when 'Aishah had already assigned him the treasure house of Basrah. He was her half brother through her mother, Umm Ruman (۴:۳۷۷). 'Abdullah was injured in the battle of Jamal and was taken off the field and he later recovered (۴:۵۰۹). 'Ali (as) used to call him 'the evil son' (۴:۵۰۹). He was with Mu'awiyah and was sent together with 'Amru bin al-'Ass to fight Muhammad bin Abi Bakr. When 'Amru sought to kill Muhammad, 'Abdullah interceded with Mu'awiyah on his behalf, but he did not accept (۵:۱۰۴). After the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as), 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair revolted in Makkah (۵:۴۷۴). He continued with his struggle there for twelve years until he was killed at the hands of Hajjaj during the reign of Abd al-Malik bin Marwan, in Jumada al-¬la ۷۳ H (۶:۱۸۷). In an expedition personally led by 'Abd al-Malik, Hajjaj had .also killed 'Abdullah's brother, Mus'ab, at al-Anbar a year before

The author of Usud al-Ghabah says: "'Abd al-Rahman bin Abi Bakr left for Makkah -۶ before the allegiance to Yazid was accomplished and he died at a place called Habashi, about ten miles from Makkah, in the year ۵۵ H." This report is not in .agreement with the above will, and Allah knows best

He came to know this from what the people of Iraq had written to the Imam (as) -۷ while he was in Madinah, after the death of his brother al-Hasan (as), as reported by al-Ya'qubi (۲:۲۱۶). According to al-Ya'qubi, "The people of Iraq were waiting for the Imam to rise for his right and Mu'awiyah heard about this. So he reproached the ".Imam for this, but he refuted his claim. Mu'awiyah then left the issue

His statement: "If he were to rise against you and you were to gain victory over -۸ him", clearly implies that: should he rise against you, fight him till you are victorious,

but then do not kill him. Mu'awiyah was in this manner trying to combine two good things (husnayayn) for Yazid; the victory over al-Husayn and the privilege of not avenging him. What indicates the preparation of Mu'awiyah for encountering al-Husayn (as) is the former's letter which he had given to Sarjaun, his Roman servant, containing the order to appoint Ibn Ziyad over Iraq if such an incident were to occur, .as we shall see later

![right [on the people

Regarding ['Abd al-Rahman] Ibn Abu Bakr, he is a kind of person who will follow .whatever his companions will do, and his only concern is women and sport

The one who will crouch the crouching of a lion in wait of its prey, and will consistently engage in trickery like a fox and pounce on you when an opportunity presents itself, is (Ibn al-Zubair. If he does that with you, tear him to pieces."(١

Mu'awiyah's Death

Mu'awiyah died in the beginning of Rajab ۶۰ H](٢). Dahhak bin Qais [al-Fihri](٣) came] out from the palace and went on the pulpit while Mu'awiyah's shroud was visible in his hands. He praised and extolled Allah and then said: "Mu'awiyah was the backbone of the Arabs and their master. Allah wiped off dissension (fitnah) through him, made him in charge of His servants, and conquered new territories at his hands. He is now dead and this is his shroud with which we shall wrap him and put him in the grave and leave him to his deeds. He shall remain in barzakh till the Day of Judgement. Whosoever ".[among you wishes to attend his funeral should come [at noon

A messenger had earlier been sent to Yazid to inform him of Mu'awiyah's critical :condition.(۴) [Upon receiving the news,] he said

,A carrier with a letter came trotting

.Casting fear in the heart, frightening

?So we said: Woe unto you! What is the news

.As if uprooted were its every foundation

,One whose soul remains in apprehension

Almost brings about that which he

p: ۸۶

.Al-Khwarazmi also has related this in his Maqtal (pg.۱۷۵) with some additions -۱

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۲۴): "Hisham bin Muhammad has said..." Page ۳۳۸ of the same book - ۲ says: "Hisham bin Muhammad reported on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf that Yazid ".ascended the throne in the beginning of Rajab ۶۰ H

Al-Tabari: He was with Mu'awiyah in the battle of Siffin and was appointed by him -۳ as the commander of the foot soldiers, the heart of the Damascus army. Later Mu'awiyah assigned him the administration of a peninsula under his control in Harran. He thus became the focus of the partisans of 'Uthman living in Basrah and Kufah. In the year ۳۶ H, 'Ali sent Malik al-Ashtar al-Nakha'i to confront him. Mu'awiyah then appointed al-Fihri as the head of his bodyguards in Damascus. He sent him to Kufah in ۵۵ H in order to invite people to pay allegiance to Yazid as heir apparent. In the year ۵۸ H, he called him back (۵:۳۰۹). Al-Mas'udi (۲:۳۲۸): "He reinstated him as the head of the bodyguards. He continued to hold this position till ۶۰ H when the delegation sent by 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad from Basrah arrived in Damascus and Mu'awiyah took allegiance from them for his son Yazid." It seems natural that he should have remained in this position until the time when the prisoners from the Prophet's family entered Sham. Al-Tabari: When Mu'awiyah bin Yazid died in the year ۶۴ H, Dahhak invited the people first towards himself and later to Ibn al-Zubair! When Marwan arrived in Sham and met 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad from Iraq, the latter tempted Marwan to take up the caliphate. So Marwan started inviting people towards himself and they paid him allegiance. This prompted al-Dahhak to lead a protest against Marwan in Damascus and, later, rise to fight him at Marj Rahit, a few miles away from Damascus. The fight lasted for twenty days, at the end of which Dahhak was killed and his side defeated. His head was brought to Marwan in the month of Muharram ۶۴ or ۶۵ H (۵:۵۳۵-۵۴۴). The Commander of the Faithful (as) used to curse Dahhak in the qunut of

.(his prayers as reported in al-Tabari (٥:٧١) and Waq'at Siffin (pg.٧٢

This is how the narration by al-Tabari leaves off at the will and picks up again at the -۴ dispatch of the messenger to Yazid, without any mention of his journey and the place he was. For this reason Tabari gives another report after this one, based on the authority of Hisham from 'Awanah bin al-Hakam (d. ١٥٧) [who says]: "Yazid was not present, so Mu'awiyah called Dahhak bin Qais al-Fihri -who was the head of his bodyguards- and Muslim bin 'Aqabah al-Mariyy -who led the raid of Harrah in Madinah- and made his will. Then he told them: "Inform Yazid of my will." This narration from al-Tabari about the will of Mu'awiyah slightly differs from that of Abu Mikhnaf, both in wording and meaning. [Firstly,] while Abu Mikhnaf's report mentions 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Umar as one of the four people about whom Mu'awiyah was apprehensive that they might not pay allegiance to Yazid, this narration omits him. [Secondly,] in the previous account Yazid is advised not to avenge al-Husayn (as), while in the present narration from al-Tabari, Mu'awiyah hopes that Allah would save Yazid through those who killed the father of al-Husayn (as) and abandoned his brother –i.e. the people of Kufah. [Thirdly,] Abu Mikhnaf reports that Mu'awiyah advised Yazid to tear Ibn al-Zubair to pieces, while this narration enjoins him to make peace and not engage in bloodshed with the Quraish! What backs the account of al-Tabari is the fact that 'Abd al-Rahman bin Abi Bakr is not mentioned in Yazid's letter to Walid, and also that 'Abd al-Rahman died in the year ٥٥ H as previously reported by Usud al-Ghabah. In addition to that, the appointment of Ibn Ziyad by Mu'awiyah as the governer of Iraq in his letter deposited with Sarjaun, the Roman, confirms the present account, as we shall see later. As for the place where Yazid was at the time of his father's death, al-Tabari (٥:١٠) narrates from 'Ali bin Muhammad that he was at Hawwarin. Al-Khwarazmi relates in his Maqtal (pg.١٧٧) from Ibn al-A'tham that Yazid had left for Hauran on the same day, after the will, for hunting. He thus reconciles between the present version of the will and the absence of Yazid at the time of .Mu'awiyah's death

.does fear

,I found the mansion gate closed when I came near

(Ramlah's voice wrecked my heart and it was rent apart.(1)

Yazid's letter to Walid

Yazid assumed power in the beginning of Rajab in the year ۶۰ H. The governor of Madinah at the time was Walid bin 'Utbah bin Abi Sufyan(2), while 'Amru bin Sa'id bin (al-'Ass was the governer of Makkah.(3)

(Nu'man bin Bashir al-Ansari(4) was the governer of Kufah(5)

(and the governer of Basrah was 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad.(6)

Yazid's most pressing concern was to take allegiance from those four people who had refused to answer Mu'awiyah's call for pledging allegiance to Yazid as his heir .apparent, and get rid of their opposition

:So he wrote to Walid

In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful. From Yazid -the commander of" the faithful- to Walid bin 'Utbah... Indeed, Mu'awiyah was a servant among the servants of Allah. He honoured him and made him His successor. He bestowed on him authority and established him. He lived based on what had been decreed for him and died when his term came to the end. May Allah have mercy on him! He lived a ".praiseworthy life and died as a good and pious person

:In another letter to Walid, which was as small as a rat's ear, he says

Take allegiance from al-Husayn, 'Abdullah bin 'Umar and 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair with" as much severity as you can, and spare them not until they pledge their oath. That is (all."(7),(8)

When the news of Mu'awiyah's death(9) reached Walid, he was very shocked and could not

١- Al-Tabari: "I narrate, on the authority of Hisham bin Muhammad, from Abu Mikhnaf who said: "'Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Masahiq bin 'Abdullah bin Makhramah told me that when Mu'awiyah died…" (٥:٣٢٧)

٢- Al-Tabari: He became the governer of Madinah on the order of Mu'awiyah in the year ٥٨ H (٥:٣٠٩). Yazid dismissed him in the month of Ramadhan of the same year for not handling the issue of Imam al-Husayn (as) seriously, and instead appointed 'Amru bin Sa'id al-Ashdaq in his place (٥:٣٤٣). His father was 'Utbah bin Abi Sufyan who was among the supporters of Mu'awiyah at Siffin. According to Waq'at Siffin (pg.٤١٧), his grandfather had been earlier killed by 'Ali (as). The last place we read of Walid in al-Tabari is as follows: "After the death of Yazid, Dahhak called on the people to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair. Walid swore at Dahhak due to which the latter imprisoned him (٥:٥٣٣). Muhaddith al-Qumi says in Tatimmat al-Muntaha (pg.٤٩) that Walid attended the funeral prayer of Mu'awiyah bin Yazid bin Mu'awiyah where he was stabbed to death.

٣- He was appointed by Yazid as the governor of Madinah in the month of Ramadhan ٦٠ H. He also designated him as the head of pilgrimage affairs, thus he led the people to Hajj in the year ٦٠ H. This supports the assertion that Yazid had ordered him to assassinate al-Husayn (as) wherever he found him, even if he was holding to the covering of the Ka'bah. He was paid allegiance as an heir apparent of Khalid bin Mu'awiyah bin Yazid on the same day that people pledged their allegiance to Marwan bin al-Hakam. This took place at Jabiyah, situated in Jawlan, a place between Damascus and Jordan, either on Wednesday or Thursday, three or four days to the end of Dhu al-Qa'dah ٦٤ H, after the death of Mu'awiyah bin Yazid. It was agreed then that 'Amru would assume the governorship of Damascus the same day. When Dahhak bin Qais al-Fihri came over to them from Damascus inviting people to accept either him or Ibn al-Zubair as the governer, and Marwan decided to fight him, 'Amru was in charge of the right wing of Marwan's army (٥:٥٢٧). Later he also conquered Egypt for Marwan and fought Mus'ab bin al-Zubair in Palestine till the latter was defeated (٥:٥٤٠). When 'Amru set out to return to Marwan, he [i.e. Marwan] was informed that Hassan bin Bajdal al-Kalbi -the maternal uncle of Yazid bin Mu'awiyah, the chief of the Banu Kilab, and the one who rallied the people round Marwan for allegiance- has paid allegiance to 'Amru bin Sa'id directly. Marwan thus summoned

Hassan and told him of what he had heard. He denied the claim and said: “I will protect you from ‘Amru.” So when the people assembled that evening, Hassan stood up and addressed them and called for allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik [bin Marwan] as the successor to Marwan. All the people, without exception, extended their pledges to him! In the year ۶۹, ۷۰ or ۷۱ H, he came out to fight Zafr bin al-Harith al-Kilabi, or was heading towards Dair al-Jathaliq to fight Mus’ab bin al-Zubair. He left behind ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Thaqafi as his deputy in Damascus. So ‘Amru bin Sa’id al-Ashdaq said to ‘Abd al-Malik: “You are going towards Iraq, so appoint me as your deputy in your absence.” ‘Abd al-Malik refused to do so, so al-Ashdaq went back to Damascus while al-Thaqafi fled from it. However, ‘Abd al-Malik personally traveled to Damascus, reconciled their differences and entered the city. He then assassinated al-Ashdaq in his palace with his own hands (۶:۱۴۰-۱۴۸). ‘Amru al-Ashdaq’s father, Sa’id bin al-‘Ass was ‘Uthman’s governor in Kufah. The people of Kufah had once complained against him to ‘Uthman for consuming intoxicants. The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali bin Abi Talib (as), executed on him the legal punishment [specified by the Shari’ah]. The following report has appeared in Majma’ al-Zawaid (۵:۲۴۰) of Ibn Hajar al-Haithami, and also in Tathir al-Jinan which has been collected on the margins of Sawaiq al-Muhriqah: “From Abu Hurairah who said: ‘I heard the Messenger of Allah (S) saying: ‘Verily, a tyrant from among the tyrants of the Banu Umayyah shall have a nose-bleed on my pulpit which shall flow [on it].’ This happened exactly in the case of ‘Amru bin Sa’id who had a nose-bleed while on the pulpit of the Messenger of Allah (S) and his blood flowed [on it]!”

۴ - He was a Khazraji. In his Rijal (pg.۳۰), Shaikh al-Tusi counts him among the companions of the Prophet (S), while according to Tabari (۴:۴۳۰) he was among those who did not pay allegiance to ‘Ali (as) after the death of ‘Uthman and instead joined Mu’awiyah and supported him at Siffin. Later, He was sent by Mu’awiyah to raid ‘Ain Tamr, and he did that as reported in al-Tabari (۵:۱۳۳; The Events of the Year ۳۴ H). In ۵۸ H, Mu’awiyah appointed Nu’man as the governor of Kufah and he continued to hold this position until the former died. After succeeding Mu’awiyah, Yazid replaced Nu’man in ۶۰ H with ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. Nu’man thus returned to Yazid and was with him till the martyrdom of Imam al-Husayn (as). He accompanied the family of the Imam (as) to Madinah on the order of Yazid (۵:۴۶۲). He once again went back to Sham

and was with Yazid till he sent him to Madinah to dissuade the Ansar from supporting ‘Abdullah bin Han¨alah, and warn them of opposing Yazid, but they did not pay heed .(to him (۵:۴۸۱

Al-Tabari: Sa’d bin Abi Waqqas wrote to ‘Umar [bin al-Khattab] about the success -۵ granted by Allah to the Muslims in conquering Jalwala. In reply, ‘Umar wrote him: “Remain in your position, do not pursue them and prepare for the Muslims a place for migration (hijrah) and a point for Jihad.” Hence, Sa’d stopped at al-Anbar where they were caught by fever. So he wrote to ‘Umar informing him of the situation. ‘Umar wrote back to Sa’d saying: “No place will fit the Arabs except that which is suitable for their camels and sheep, a place where there is enough vegetation. Look for a plain beside the river [Euphrates] and take it up as a habitation for the Muslims.” So Sa’d returned and camped at Kufah. (۳:۵۷۹) Literally, Kufah means a plain with pebbles and red sand (۳:۶۱۹). Any area with red sand is called ‘sahlah’. An area covered with the mixture of such pebbles and sand is called Kufah (۴:۴۱). Kufah had three regions: Hirqah, Umm ‘Amru and Silsilah (۴:۴۱). In the month of Muharram ۱۷ H, Sa’d and his men erected structures made of reed. There occured a great fire in Kufah due to which eighty structures were destroyed, and the reeds razed to the ground by the month of Shawwal. Sa’d therefore sent some people to ‘Umar asking for permission to build structures with mud bricks. ‘Umar replied saying: “Go ahead, but no one among you should have more than three houses, nor should you construct high buildings.” Abu al-Hayyaj bin Malik was the person in charge of accommodating people in Kufah, so Sa’d sent him a message informing him of ‘Umar’s order regarding the plan for the city, and that the following method must be followed: the main streets were to be ۴۰ arms-lenght wide; the streets following that should be ۳۰ arms-length; ۲۰ arms-length for smaller streets; and ۷ arms-length for the alleys. Nothing should be below this. The experts then gathered to assess the plan and Abu al-Hayyaj was to be informed about all they had agreed upon, so that he could assign everyone with a particular task. Accordingly, the first thing to be sketched out and built in Kufah was the mosque. It was located on that side of the market in Kufah which was held by the date and soap sellers. A man good in archery stood in the middle of the place where the mosque was to be constructed and shot arrows to his right, before and behind him, and then declared that everyone is free to build houses

beyond the points the arrows have landed. A canopy of two hundred arm-lengths was erected in the front part of the mosque. It was placed on marble columns which belonged to the Persian kings; while its ceiling was similar to that of Roman churches. A ditch was dug around it to mark its borders in order to prevent encroachment. A residence was built for Sa'd adjacent to the mosque, separated by an overlaid street of ۲۰۰ arm-lengths. The treasure houses were located at this very place. This was the palace of Kufah which was constructed for him by Ruzbah out of the burnt bricks used for the buildings of the Persian kings at Hirah (۴:۴۴۴۵). Sa'd was living in the palace adjacent to the mihrab of the mosque, where the treasure house was located. However, one day a hole was drilled through it and the treasures were stolen, so Sa'd wrote about this to 'Umar. The mosque was then moved to some other place. Its foundations were changed and built afresh from the burnt bricks of a palace which belonged to the Persian kings in the suburbs of Hirah. The mosque was now located in the area near the treasure houses, starting from there upto the end of the palace, in a direction opposite the Qiblah. The qiblah of the mosque was on the right of the palace. .The mosque was founded on a marble which belonged to the Persian monarchs

۶- Al-Tabari: 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad was born in the year ۲۰ H (۵:۲۹۷). In the year ۴۱ H, Busr bin Artat imprisoned him in Basrah together with his two brothers: 'Abbad and 'Abd al-Rahman. He then wrote to Ziyad saying: "You should present yourself before Mu'awiyah, or else I will kill your sons." (۵:۱۶۸). Ziyad died in ۵۳ H (۵:۲۸۸), so his son 'Ubaidullah went to see Mu'awiyah who then appointed him as the governor of Khurasan in the year ۵۴ H (۵:۲۹۷). In ۵۵ H he was transferred to Basrah, leaving Aslam bin Zur'ah al-Kalbi over Khurasan (۵:۳۰۶). During his governership in Khurasan, 'Ubaidullah had launched an attack on Bukhara highlands and conquered the cities of Ramithnah and Bikand. He captured two thousand archers from Bukhara, won their hearts and brought them to Basrah with himself (۵:۲۹۸). Mu'awiyah also appointed 'Abbad bin Ziyad as the governer of Sajistan, and 'Abd al-Rahman bin Ziyad as the administrator of Khurasan together with his brother 'Ubaidullah (۵:۳۱۵). 'Ubaidullah held this position for two years (۵:۳۱۶), and was then also made in charge of Kerman. Thereafter, Sharik bin al-A'war al-Harithi al-Hamdani was assigned over Kerman (۵:۳۲۱). Later, Yazid dismissed 'Abbad from Sajistan and 'Abd al-Rahman from Khurasan and appointed Silm bin Ziyad, their brother, over both the places; and he

later sent Yazid bin Ziyad, Silm's other brother, to Sajistan (۵:۴۷۱). In ۶۰ H, Yazid made 'Ubaidullah in charge of Kufah, so he left Basrah under his brother, 'Uthman bin Ziyad (۵:۳۵۸). 'Ubaidullah was forty years old when al-Husayn (as) was martyred. He returned to Basrah in ۶۱ H. When Yazid and his son Mu'awiyah died, the people of Basrah paid allegiance to 'Ubaidullah temporarily and until the next caliph had been chosen. But then they opposed him and so he went to Sham (۵:۵۰۳) together with his brother 'Abdullah in ۶۴ H (۵:۵۱۳). In Sham, 'Ubaidullah paid allegiance to Marwan bin al-Hakam and prompted him to wage a war on Iraq. Marwan thus sent him towards Iraq (۵:۵۳۰) where he fought the [members of the] movement of Tawwabun in the year ۶۵ H and defeated them (۵:۵۹۸). Then he fought Mukhtar in ۶۶ H (۶:۸۱) where he and those .(with him from Sham were killed in ۶۷ H (۶:۸۷

٧- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۳۸): "Hisham bin Muhammad narrated from Abu Mikhnaf..." This is the first among the numerous reports which Tabari connects part of it to another by saying in the beginning of each report: 'He narrated (qala)', while the report is based .on the narration of Abu Mikhnaf

٨ - This is how Tabari's report from Abu Mikhnaf, on the authority of Hisham, is restricted to the mention of 'severity' only, without any mention of bloodshed. So is the report of Sibt bin al-Jawzi (pg.۲۳۵), also from Hisham, and of Shaikh al-Mufid in al-Irshad (pg.۲۰۰), which is either from Hisham or al-Madaini. However, al-Ya'qubi reproduces in his Tarikh (۲:۲۲۹) the text of Yazid's letter in the following words: "As soon as my letter reaches you, call on Husayn bin 'Ali and 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair and take allegiance from both of them. If they refuse, behead them and send me their heads. Also invite the people to pay their allegiance. And whosoever refuses [to do so], then carry out my order on him, [and] on Husayn bin 'Ali and 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair. That is all." Al-Khwarazmi mentions the letter in al-Maqtal (pg.۱۸۰) from Ibn al-A'tham in the same manner as al-Tabari did from Hisham, and adds: "... And whoever among them refuses, then behead him and send me his head." Yazid's letter reached Walid on the night preceding Friday, ۲۶th of Rajab, as it is inferred from Imam al-Husayn's .date of departure from Madinah, as we shall see later

٩- Historians have not specified when exactly Yazid wrote this letter and when he sent it to Madinah, based on which the time period of traveling from Sham to Madinah could have been calculated. But we can infer that from what al-Tabari (۵:۴۸۲) has

reported from Abu Mikhnaf, on the authority of Hisham that: "'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan told the person he sent with the letter from the Banu Umayyah – when they were besieged in Madinah before the event of Harrah- to Yazid in Sham: 'I give you twelve nights for going and twelve for returning; so report back to me within ۲۴ days at this place.' Later the messenger said: 'I went and came back to 'Abd al-Malik within that time or a little later." This is also confirmed by what al-Tabari (۵:۴۹۸) has related from al-Waqidi (d. ۲۰۷ H) that the news of Yazid's death reached Madinah in the beginning of Rabi' al-Akhar, while Yazid had died ۱۴ nights after [the month of] Rabi'al-Awwal ۶۴ H began –as mentioned on the same page. Therefore the news of Yazid's .death must have reached them after ۱۶ days

(bear the news. So he sent a message to Marwan bin al-Hakam(۱

(to come to him.(۲

Walid Seeks Counsel from Marwan

When Walid read Yazid's letter to Marwan, the latter pronounced the verse: "Verily, we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return", and invoked Allah's mercy upon "?Mu'awiyah. Walid then asked for his advice saying: "In your opinion what shall we do

Marwan replied: "I think you should send a messenger to these people and invite them to pledge their allegiance and submit to Yazid's authority. If they did that, accept it from them and leave them. But if they refused, you should strike their heads. You must do this before they become aware of Mu'awiyah's death. Otherwise, each of them will scatter away and announce his opposition and rejection, and will invite (people toward himself."(۳

Walid's Envoy

Walid sent 'Abdullah bin 'Amru bin 'Uthman(۴) -who was then a young man- to summon al-Husayn (as) and Ibn al-Zubair. He found them sitting in the mosque. So he came [later] at a time when Walid did not usually have any meeting with the people, nor would the people come to him at such a time.(۵) The messenger said to them: "The "!governor is calling you, so answer him

(They said: "Proceed! We are coming to him."(۶)

Then they looked at one another and 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair said to al-Husayn (as): "?"What do you think should be the reason that he has sent for us at this unusual hour

Al-Husayn (as) replied: "I think the tyrant among them has perished(۷), so he has

p: ۸۸

۱- Al-Tabari: He was banished by the Messernger of Allah (S) from Madinah along with his father, Hakam bin al-'Ass bin Umayyah, because the latter used to mock at the Prophet (S). 'Uthman escaped with Hakam and married his daughter, Na'ilah. 'Uthman granted Hakam a tribute from Africa which weighed [around] ۳۰۰ qintar of gold (۴:۲۵۶). [Marwan] purchased a series of wells in Iraq by that [tribute] which later came to be known as 'Nahr Marwan' (۴:۲۸۰). He also gave Marwan ۱۵,۰۰۰ silver coins (۴:۳۴۵). 'Uthman had become a puppet in the hands of Marwan as 'Ali (as) once said (۴:۳۶۴). [On the day of the siege,] Marwan fought in defence of 'Uthman and was struck with sword on [the back part of] his neck and fell to the ground. The people wanted to finish him off but his wet nurse, who was then an old woman, jumped on him saying: "If you are intending to kill the man, then he has already been killed. But if you intend to mangle his body, then this is abominable." So they left him (۴:۳۸۱). His servant, Abu Hafsah al-Yamani, then carried him to his house (۴:۳۸۰). Marwan continued to live thereafter with a short neck (۴:۳۹۴). He participated in the battle of Jamal and used to call to prayer (۴:۴۵۴). He shot an arrow at Talhah on the day of Jamal and killed him (۴:۵۰۹). He also sustained injuries on that day (۴:۵۳۰), thus escaped from the battlefield and sought protection with Malik bin Masma' al-Ghazari and he granted him (۴:۵۳۶). On his return, Marwan joined Mu'awiyah (۴:۵۴۱) who appointed him as the governor of Madinah after the Year of Unity (۵:۱۷۲). There he invented the maqsurah for prayers in the year ۴۴ H (۵:۲۱۵). [Maqsurah was a cabin-like place in the mosque from inside which the ruler used to lead the people in prayers. This norm was first invented by Mu'awiyah out of fear of being assassinated.] Mu'awiyah had gifted him with Fadak but later took it back from him (۵:۲۳۱). [Mu'awiyah] dismissed him from the governorship of Madinah in ۴۹ H (۵:۲۳۲), and reinstated him in the same position in ۵۴ H

(۵:۲۹۳). It was during Marwan's rule in Madinah that Mu'awiyah had gone for Hajj in ۵۶ H and prepared the grounds for the successorship of his son, Yazid (۵:۳۰۴). However, in the year ۵۷ or ۵۸ H, Mu'awiyah replaced him with Walid bin 'Uqbah bin Abi Sufyan. It was for this very reason that he used to dislike Walid (۵:۳۰۹). Marwan was in Damascus when the captives, together with the heads of the martyrs, arrived [in the city] (۵:۴۶۵). When the incident of Harrah took place in ۶۲ H, [Marwan] was in Madinah. Actually, it was he who asked Yazid for help, and the latter sent Muslim bin 'Aqabah al-Mariyy to his help (۵:۴۸۲). As the people of Madinah heard about the coming of Muslim bin 'Aqabah, they besieged the Umayyads -who were a thousand men- at Marwan's house, and then expelled them from Madinah. [Marwan] thus left his family in the custody of 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as) at Yanbu', who agreed to provide for them and protect them. 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as) had earlier withdrawn from Madinah to Yanbu', as he detested witnessing the atrocities [of the Banu Umayyah] (۵:۴۸۵). In the year ۶۴ H, 'Ubaidah bin al-Zubair took charge of Madinah for his brother 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair. He expelled the Umayyads from Madinah to Sham. Marwan was paid allegiance as the caliph in Sham the same year (۵:۵۳۰). He died in the month of .Ramadhan ۶۵ H

۲- Al-Tabari: The complete report is as follows: "Marwan reluctantly came to Madinah on the same day as Walid (۵:۳۲۵). When Walid noticed that from him, he reviled [Marwan] in his gathering. The news reached Marwan and so he cut-off from Walid. The situation continued to remain so until the news of Mu'awiyah's death reached Walid. The death of Mu'awiyah and Yazid's order to take allegiance from a particular group of people was so distressing for Walid that he had to take refuge to Marwan ".and call on him

۳- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۳۹): "Hisham bin Muhammad related from Abu Mikhnaf that..." This has .(also been reported by al-Khwarazmi in al-Maqtal (pg.۱۸۱

۴- He was alive till the year ۹۱ H. He was among those men from the Quraish who welcomed Walid bin 'Abd al-Malik to Madinah (al-Tabari:۶:۴۶۵). His agnomen was al-Mutarrif. He died in ۹۶ H (al-Qamqam, pg.۲۷۰). His father, 'Amru, was the son of 'Uthman bin 'Affan, the third caliph. His mother was Umm 'Amru bint Jundab al-Azdi (۴:۴۲۰). Al-Tabari (۵:۴۹۴) reports that 'Abdullah's mother was from Dus. During the event of Harrah, Muslim bin 'Uqbah accused him of not being sincere to the Banu

Umayyah. So when [‘Abdullah] was brought before Muslim, the latter swore at him and ordered his beard to be plucked (۵:۴۹۴).

۵- This is how the report of Abu Mikhnaf is restricted here to the description of this ‘hour’ as ‘the one in which Walid did not usually meet the people’, without specifying whether it was in the daytime or at night. Nevertheless, the same report contains a number of contextual clues that help us in concluding that it was in the early hours of Friday, four days to the end of the month of Rajab. They are: (a) The actual text of the report goes like this: “Then he sent... to summon both of them. The messenger saw them and said: ‘The governor is calling you, so answer him!’ They said: ‘Go, we are just coming.” Therefore, they were both invited at the same time. The end of the report relates Ibn al-Zubair as saying: “I am just coming.” He then went to his house and hid himself. Walid sent for him a second time and found him among his companions well guarded. So Walid went on insisting by repeatedly sending messengers, one after the other [for a third and a forth time, at least]. Ibn al-Zubair said: “Do not be in haste with regard to me; grant me respite, for I will surely come to you.” Walid sent a group of his servants [for the fifth time] who rebuked Ibn al-Zubair and shouted at him saying: “O son of Kahiliyyah! By Allah, either to the governer, or else he will kill you!” Ibn al-Zubair spent the whole day and part of the night answering: “I will come soon.” But when they impelled him to come, he reacted by saying: “By Allah! I have grown suspicious because of the repeated summons and successive coming of these people. So do not rush me until I send someone to the governor to inform me of his orders.” He then sent his brother Ja’far bin al-Zubair who told Walid: “May Allah have mercy on you! Hold back from ‘Abdullah; for, indeed, you have scared him [by sending] numerous messengers. He will come to you tomorrow if Allah wills. So order your messengers to leave us alone.” So Walid ordered them to disperse and they did so [in the evening], while Ibn al-Zubair left [Madinah] under the cover of the night.” It seems that all these exchanges took place in the day time. In addition, the text also is explicit in that when it says: “... he then lingered the whole day and part of the night...” Now, since he was summoned at the same time as the Imam (as) was, it seems that the Imam (as) also was called in the early part of the morning. (b) The report contains the following: “They impelled the two men at the evening and early parts of the night.” This phrase might lead some to think that they were

summoned in the evening –at the time of ‘asr, but this is a mere illusion because the report says ‘fa alahhu ‘alaihima’, and ilhah literally means to ‘demand urgently, to insist and to repeat a request or a call’. Therefore, the call at the evening must have been preceded with similar calls before it. Thus, the text itself leads us to conclude that the invitation was in the day time, and not at night. (c) Abu Mikhnaf relates from ‘Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musahiq bin Makhramah, who reported from Abu Sa’id al-Maqbari who said: “I saw al-Husayn (as) entering the mosque of Madinah ...and after only two days I was informed that he has left for Makkah (٥:٣٤٢).” This report confirms another report by Abu Mikhnaf which suggests that Ibn al-Zubair concealed himself in his house guarded by his companions. He spent there the whole day and the early hours of the night and then departed from Madinah at night. In the morning Walid sent to him but found that he had already left. So he dispatched eighty riders after him, but they could not reach him and returned. The authorities were preoccupied with this matter for the whole of the second day till evening when Walid sent for al-Husayn (as). He responded to them saying: “Wait until morning, then you will [have time to] consider so shall we.” So they left him that night and did not compel him, and [al-Husayn (as)] left under the cover of darkness, on the night preceding Sunday, two days before the end of Rajab” (٥:٤٣١). Accordingly, Ibn al-Zubair remained in Madinah only for one day after the start of the invitation and left at night, while al-Husayn (as) was there for two days and departed on the second night. Since the Imam (as) departed on the night preceding Sunday, the days of his stay in Madinah, after the call, must have been [the day of] Friday, the night [preceding] Saturday and the day of Saturday. Also, the series of calls from Walid must have started in the early hours of Friday morning. Thus, describing the time of the arrival of the messenger as: “An hour in which Walid did not usually have meetings with people”, would thus be correct. So the meeting of Ibn al-Zubair with the Imam (as) in the Prophet’s mosque took place on Friday morning, probably after the morning prayers. What Abu Mikhnaf reported on the authority of al-Maqbari that Imam Husayn (as) entered the Prophet’s mosque supported by two men, must have been after his return from Walid’s palace with two of his men with whom he had gone to see him. We thus conclude that: Walid’s invitation was sent in the early hours of Friday, four days before the end of Rajab, at such a time when Walid did not have sittings with the people; since it was Friday and it

.was not his working day

۶- Al-Tabari (٥:٣٣٩): "Hisham bin Muhammad narrated from Abu Mikhnaf..." Sibt bin al-Jawzi brings the above report in al-Tadhkirah (pg.٢٠٣), while al-Khwarazmi has paraphrased it in his Maqtal. It is not known why the pronoun (dhamir) in the report has appeared in the dual form, while the invitation was sent to three people. What appears from the final part of the report is that these two people were al-Husayn (as) and 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair only, and there is no any mention of 'Abd al-Rahman bin Abi Bakr and 'Abdullah bin 'Umar. What would probably account for the omission of Ibn Abi Bakr is that he had died before this -as mentioned earlier, while Ibn 'Umar was not present in Madinah at that time as al-Tabari has narrated from al-Waqidi (٥:٣٤٣). With regard to Walid's envoy and who he was, al-Khwarazmi (pg. ١٨١), based on the report of Ibn al-A'tham, and also Sibt al-Jawzi (pg.٢٣٥), [are of the opinion that] he was 'Amru bin 'Uthman. According to Tarikh Ibn 'Asakir (٤:٣٢٧), he was 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Amru bin 'Uthman bin 'Affan.

۷- The actual text reads: "I think I am going to see the tyrant among them", but what we have mentioned is more correct.

".summoned us to take allegiance from us before the news spread to the people

"?Ibn al-Zubair said: "I suppose it is so. What do you intend to do then

Al-Husayn (as) answered: "I will gather my young men right now and will go to see ".him. As I reach the entrance, I will leave the young men by the gate and enter myself

".Ibn al-Zubair remarked: "I indeed fear for you if you enter

Al-Husayn (as) replied: "I will not go to see him unless I am capable of refusing [what ".[he wants from me

He then left the mosque and assembled his servants and the members of his household. They all walked until they reached the door of Walid. He then said to his companions: "I am entering. If I call you, or you hear my voice raised, then rush your way in. Otherwise, remain in your positions until I come out."(۱)

Al-Husayn (as) Meets Walid

Al-Husayn (as) entered and greeted the governer while Marwan was sitting next to .[him. [Marwan had once cut off from Walid as mentioned earlier

Al-Husayn (as) said –as if he did not suspect Mu'awiyah's death: "Maintaining the bond of kinship is better than severing it. May Allah set aright your difference." But the .two men did not return a word

After al-Husayn (as) took his seat, Walid read him the letter and informed him about .[the death of Mu'awiyah, and asked him to pay allegiance [to Yazid

Al-Husayn (as) said: "Verily, we belong to Allah and to him do we indeed return...' As ,for the oath

p: ۸۹

Al-Mufid has narrated this briefly in al-Irshad (pg.۲۰۰), and so has Ibn al-Jawzi - ۱ .((pg.۲۳۶) and al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۸۳

anyone like me would not give his allegiance in secret. And I do not think you will be contented with a pledge from me in privacy, without making it known to the people ".publicly

"!Walid responded: "Yes, indeed

Al-Husayn (as)] said: "So when you go out to the people inviting them to pledge their] (allegiance, invite us along with them, thus the matter will take place at one time."(۱

Walid [in fact] wanted to be excused from the issue of al-Husayn (as). So he said to ".him: "Go in the name of Allah until you come back to us with the people

Here] Marwan interrupted "By Allah! If he parts from you now without paying] allegiance, then you will never have the same power over him until a great number of people from among you and him are killed! Arrest him and do not let him leave you (until after he has paid homage [to Yazid], or you have executed him!"(۲

At this] al-Husayn (as) jumped up and said: "O son of Zarqa'!(۳) Are you going to kill]

(me or he? By Allah, you have lied and sinned!"(۴

Then he went out and passed by his companions, so they accompanied him until he (reached his house.(۵

The Stand of Ibn al–Zubair

With regard to Ibn al-Zubair, he said to the messenger: "I am just coming." He then went to his house and hid himself. Walid sent for him and found him among his companions well guarded. So Walid went on insisting by repeatedly sending messengers, one after the other... So Ibn al-Zubair

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.Al-Khwarazmi has reported this on pg.۱۸۳ of his Maqtal with different wordings -۱

.(See al-Maqtal of al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۸۴ -۲

She was Zarqa' bint Mawhib. She was among the prostitutes who had banners [on -۳ their houses] as reported in al-Kamil (۴:۷۵). Therefore, the Imam's statement was not an accusation, nor was it 'calling someone by bad names'. Rather, it is similar to what has appeared in the Holy Qur'an regarding Walid bin al-Mughirah al-Makhzumi: "Any violent tyrant, who is in addition base born" (۶۸:۱۳). The word zanim –which has .'appeared in the verse just mentioned- literally means a 'bastard

Al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۸۴) has related [the above words of the Imam (as)] and added: -۴ "Verily, we are the family to which belongs the Prophethood, [we are] the origin of the [divine] messengership (ma'din al-risalah), the place frequented by the angels, and the point where the mercy of Allah descends. With us Allah began the creation and with us he will end it. Yazid is an immoral person who drinks wine, kills innocent people and sins openly. A person like me cannot pay allegiance to someone like him! However, the matter will eventually come to light as to who among us deserves the allegiance and the caliphate." [Meanwhile,] the people at the door heard the voice of al-Husayn (as) raised, so they were about to enter with their swords drawn when al-Husayn (as) came out and ordered them to return to their houses." Sayyid Ibn Tawus (d.۶۹۳ H) also has narrated this in al-Malhuf fi Qatla al-Tufuf, and so has Ibn Nama

.(d.۶۴۵ H) in Muthir al-Ahzan

۵ - Al-Tabari (۵:۳۳۹): "Hisham bin Muhammad narrated from Abu Mikhnaf..." Al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۸۴) has also related it with the following addition: "So Marwan said to Walid: 'You disobeyed me! By Allah! He will never give you the same opportunity over his life!' Walid retorted: 'Blame someone other than myself, O Marwan! Indeed, you have chosen for me something which would destroy my religion! By Allah, I would not love to have all the worldly wealth [and dominion] which the sun rises and sets over, while I am [guilty of] killing al-Husayn." Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.۲۲۶) has briefly related this: "Walid remarked: 'Glory be to Allah! Should I kill al-Husayn because he said 'I will not pay allegiance'?! By Allah, I believe that anyone who is [responsible] for the blood of al-Husayn shall certainly have light scales (khafif al-mizan) before Allah on the Day of Judgement!' 'If this is your opinion, then you have acted correctly in what you did", said Marwan. He said this showing his disapproval of his view." See also al-Irshad .((pg.۲۰۱

said: "Do not be hasty with regard to me; I will surely come to you; grant me respite." Ibn al-Zubair spent the whole day and part of the night by answering: "I will come ".soon

Walid sent a group of his servants who rebuked Ibn al-Zubair and shouted at him saying: "O son of Kahiliyyah! By Allah, either come to the governor, or else he will kill you!" But when they impelled him to come, he reacted in these words: "By Allah! I have grown suspicious because of the repeated summons and successive coming of these people. So do not rush me until I send someone to the governor to inform me of his ".orders

He then sent his brother Ja'far bin al-Zubair who told Walid: "May Allah have mercy on you! Hold back from 'Abdullah, for you have indeed scared him by sending too many messengers. He will come to you tomorrow if Allah wills. So order your messengers to leave us alone." So Walid ordered them to disperse and they did so. Ibn al-Zubair left [Madinah] under the cover of the night preceding Saturday, [three days before the .end of Rajab] and a night before al-Husayn's departure

He set out to Makkah by taking the unusual way -avoiding the main one in fear of being traced- together with his brother Ja’far without anyone accompanying them. [See also al-Tadhkirah, pg.۲۳۶]. In the morning Walid sent for Ibn al-Zubair but he had already left. So Marwan said “By Allah! He

has not gone except towards Makkah.” Walid thus dispatched after him eighty riders from among the servants of the Banu Umayyah, but they could not reach him and .returned

Ibn al-Zubair entered Makkah saying: “I am only seeking refuge here.” ‘Amru bin Sa’id was then the governor of Makkah. While he was there, Ibn al-Zubair would neither pray with the people, nor leave the mosque with them. Instead, he used to pray in one corner together with his companions and then leave with them (See al-Tabari:۵:۳۴۳, .(Hisham bin Muhammad reporting from Abu Mikhnaf

Al-Mufid (pg.۲۰۱) also has related it and so has Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.۲۳۶) saying: “Al-Husayn (as) left Madinah the following night together with his family and young men, while the authorities were preoccupied with the matter of Ibn al-Zubair.” On page ۲۴۵, Ibn al-Jawzi reports from Hisham and Muhammad bin Ishaq that [al-Husayn (as) left] on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab. According to al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۸۹), he !left on the third of Sha’ban

Al–Husayn (as) in the Mosque of Madinah

They were distracted from al-Husayn (as) by the pursuit of ‘Abdullah [bin al-Zubair .throughout the first day and the morning of the day he departed] until the evening

Walid] then sent his men to al-Husayn (as) in the evening [of the second day,] Saturday, ۲۸th of Rajab]. His response was: “Come in the morning, then you will [have time to] consider [the situation] and so shall we.” So they left him for that [second] night, [i.e. the night preceding Sunday ۲۹th of Rajab], without insisting upon

(him [attending].(1)

It was on the first of the two days that al-Husayn (as) went to the mosque of Madinah] supported by two people as related] by Sa'id al-Maqbari who said: "I saw al-Husayn (as) entering the mosque of Madinah. He was walking by leaning on two men, sometimes leaning on this, and at times on the other. I heard him quoting [Yazid] bin al-Mufarragh [al-Himyari]: "Let me not live -and be called by my name and drive my flocks- if I were to be granted dignity only after humiliating myself, at a time when I (can face death without degradation."(2)

Al-Maqbari says: "I said to myself: By Allah! He did not repeat the two verses except that he had a purpose behind it." After only two days I heard that he had left for (Makkah.(3)

The Stance of Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyyah

With regard to Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyyah(4), when he heard about the matter, he] :came to his brother, al-Husayn (as) and] said to him

O my brother! You are the most lovable of people to me and the dearest of them to" me. You are more entitled to my advice than any other person is. Avoid giving allegiance to Yazid bin Mu'awiyah and [avoid] the towns as much as you can. Then send your messengers to the people and summon them to [follow] you. If they pledge allegiance to you, then praise Allah for that. [But] if the people agree upon someone other than you, then Allah will not make your religion nor your reason deficient on that ,account

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١- Al-Tabari (٥:٣٣٨-٣٤١): "Hisham bin Muhammad reports from Abu Mikhnaf..." See also .(al-Irshad (pg.٢٠١

٢- Al-Khwarazmi (pg.١٨۶) related it uptil here.

٣- Al-Tabari (٥:٣٤٢): "Abu Mikhnaf says: "Abd al-Malik bin Naufal bin Musahiq narrated to me from Abu Sa'id al-Maqbari that..." We have given al-Maqbari's biography in the

introduction of this book. Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.٢٣٧) has also narrated [the above report], .but in different wordings

٤- Al-Tabari: His mother was Khaulah bint Ja'far bin Qais from the clan of the Banu Bakr bin Wail (٥:١٥٤). He was together with his father, 'Ali (as) on the day of Jamal, and was given the banner by him (٥:٤٤٥). He fought and severed the hand of a man from the tribe of Azd who was urging his men to fight for [the companions of] the camel (٤:٥١٢). Ibn al-Hanafiyyah participated in Siffin also where 'Ubaidullah bin 'Umar challenged him for a duel but 'Ali (as) prevented him, out of pity, lest he should be killed (٥:١٣). Ibn al-Hanafiyyah was residing in Madinah when al-Husayn (as) departed Makkah for Iraq (٥:٣٩٤). Mukhtar had claimed that he was calling the people of Kufah on behalf of Ibn al-Hanafiyyah (٥:٥٦١). When he was informed about this and asked for his comments, he said: "I wish Allah grants us victory over our enemy through whoever he wishes from among his creatures." When his observation reached Mukhtar, he gave him [i.e. Ibn al-Hanafiyyah] the appellation of 'Imam al-Mahdi' (٦:١٤). Mukhtar showed Ibrahim bin Malik al-Ashtar a document attributed to Ibn al-Hanafiyyah, thus inviting Ibrahim to follow him on that authority (٦:٤٦). The incident was reported to Ibn al-Hanafiyyah who refuted it in these words: "He claims to be our follower, while the murderers of al-Husayn sit in his company and chat with him!" [A few years after the event of Karbala'] when Mukhtar killed 'Umar bin Sa'd and his son, he sent their heads to Ibn al-Hanafiyyah (٦:٦٢). He also tried to dispatch an army to Ibn al-Hanafiyyah in order for him to confront Ibn al-Zubair, but he refused the offer and stopped him from bloodshed (٦:٧٤). When Ibn al-Zubair heard this, he imprisoned Ibn al-Hanafiyyah at Zamzam, along with other seventeen people from among his family members and the people of Kufah who were with him, and asked them to pay him allegiance, or else he would burn them! So Ibn al-Hanafiyyah sent three men from Kufah to Mukhtar seeking his help. So Mukhtar sent ٤,٠٠٠ men together with a great amount of money. As they reached Makkah, they entered Masjid al-Haram and freed the prisoners. After this, they sought the permission of Ibn al-Hanafiyyah to fight Ibn al-Zubair, but he did not allow them and distributed the money among them (٦:٦٧). He also used to stop the Shi'ah from exaggeration (ghuluww) (٦:١٠٣). Ibn al-Hanafiyyah had a separate banner for the pilgrimage in the year ٦٨ H. He used to say: "I am a person seeking to get rid of Ibn al-Zubair and what he wants from me, but I do

not want to achieve this aim at the cost of difference among people regarding me" (۶:۱۳۸). He was alive until the Year of Draught in ۸۱ H and was then ۶۵ years of age ((۵:۱۵۲). He passed away in Taif and his funeral prayer was led by Ibn ‘Abbas. (۵:۱۵۴

nor will he remove your manliness and outstanding merit because of it. [Yet] I am afraid that you will enter one of these towns and a group of people will gather around you, thus they will differ with each other; a group will be for you and another against you. They will fight each other and you will be a target for the first of their spears. Then, the best of all this community, in person, in father and in mother, would be the one in it whose blood was most terribly exposed and whose family most humiliated!"

Al-Husayn (as) said: "Where then should I go, my brother?"

Ibn al-Hanafiyyah said: "[Go and] stay at Makkah. If that base is secure for you, then stay there. [However,] if it becomes dangerous for you, then you can take to the deserts and the mountain peaks, and move from place to place so that you may see how the people's attitude to the affair develops. Then you will know the right decision [to make]. It is only by facing matters directly that you will be able to make the best judgement and you will be more resolute in practice. And nothing will ever make matters more difficult for you than turning away from them."

Al-Husayn (as) responded to him saying: "My brother! You have given advice and shown your concern. I hope that your judgement is correct and lucky."(۱)

Al-Husayn (as) Leaves Madinah

Al-Husayn (as) had told Walid:] "Hold back! Give the matter a thought and so should] we." But

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۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۴۱): "Hisham bin Muhammad reports from Abu Mikhnaf..." Al-Mufid (pg.۲۰۲) also has narrated the report in al-Irshad. Al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۸۸) has related it with some additions. He has also included the Imam's will to Ibn al-Hanafiyyah, narrating it from Ibn al-A'tham, [which says]: "Indeed, I have not come out...", and

then [al-Khwarazmi mentions the following as part of the will also]: "[and that I may follow the path of the Prophet (S)...] and that of the rightly guided caliphs!"

they were preoccupied by the pursuit of 'Abdullah [bin al-Zubair on the first day and the day he left] until evening. [In the evening, Walid] sent his men to al-Husayn (as), the evening [of the second day, Saturday ٢٧th of Rajab]. Al-Husayn (as) said: "Wait till tomorrow morning. Then you will [have time to] think [over the matter] and so shall we." So, they left him that [second] night [the night preceding Sunday ٢٨th of Rajab] without compelling him.

Al-Husayn (as) departed under the darkness of this [second] night, the night before Sunday and two days before the end of Rajab ۶٠ H. He took with him his children, his brothers, his nephews and most of his family members except for Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyyah.(١)

[As he was leaving the city,] he recited the following verse: "So he left the city, fearful and vigilant. He said: 'My Lord, deliver me from the wrongdoing lot.'"(٢) And when he entered Makkah, he recited this verse: "And when he turned his face toward Midian, he said: 'May be my Lord will show me the right way.'"(٣),(۴)

Al-Husayn (as) in Makkah

Al-Husayn (as) on the Way to Makkah

point

Uqbah bin Sim'an says: "We departed [from Madinah] and kept to the main road. '[Some of] al-Husayn's (as) family members said to him: 'Would that you had avoided the high road, like Ibn al-Zubair did, the search [group] could not reach you?' He replied: 'No! By Allah, I will not part from it until Allah decrees what is more lovable to Him.'"(۵)

Abdullah bin Muti' al-'Adawi'

We met 'Abdullah bin Muti' al-'Adawi(۶). He said

-۱ Al-Tabari (۵:۳۴۰-۳۴۱), and the date of his departure has been mentioned in (۵:۳۸۱), which he also related from Abu Mikhnaf, who narrated it from Saq'ab bin Zuhair, who in turn reported from 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifah. See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۰۹). Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.۲۳۶) says: "And al-Husayn (as) departed the following night along with his family and young men, while the authorities remained distracted from him by the issue of Ibn al-Zubair." He also narrated it on page ۲۴۵ from Muhammad bin Ishaq and Hisham [saying]: "[It was] on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab." But al-Khwarazmi says on page ۱۸۹ of his Maqtal: "[It was on] the third day of Sha'ban!".

-۲ Qur'an:۲۸:۲۱.

-۳ Qur'an:۲۸:۲۲.

-۴ Al-Tabari (۵:۳۴۳): "Hisham bin Muhammad reported from Abu Mikhnaf..." The Stand of 'Abdullah bin 'Umar Walid sent for 'Abdullah bin 'Umar and said [to him]: "Pay allegiance to Yazid." 'Abdullah replied: "If the people pay allegiance, I will do the same."* Someone asked him: "What prevents you from paying allegiance?! Indeed, you only want the people to disagree and fight among themselves, and annihilate each other. And when they are exhausted by that, they would say: Follow 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, for there remains no one except him! So pay him your allegiance." 'Abdullah bin 'Umar replied: "I do not like to see people fighting amongst themselves, disagreeing and annihilating each other. But if the people paid allegiance and no one remained apart from me, then I will give allegiance." Thus, they left him and were, no more, afraid of him.** * As was acknowledged by Mu'awiyah in his will, and by Marwan in his advice to Walid, as mentioned earlier. ** Al-Tabari (۵:۳۴۲): "Hisham bin Muhammad reports on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf that..." Then al-Tabari says: "Al-Waqidi (d.۲۰۷ H) maintains that: 'Ibn 'Umar was not in Madinah when the news of Mu'awiyah's death and the matter of paying allegiance to Yazid were brought to Walid." [So has been maintained by Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.۲۳۷) also]. [Al-Waqidi also says:] "And when Ibn al-Zubair and al-Husayn (as) were summoned to pay allegiance to Yazid, they refused to do so and left for Makkah the same night. They were met on the way by Ibn 'Abbas and Ibn 'Umar who were coming from Makkah. So they asked them about the news. They answered: 'Mu'awiyah's death and allegiance to Yazid.' So

Ibn ‘Umar said: ‘Fear Allah [both of you] and do not sow discord within the Muslim community!’ Ibn ‘Umar continued towards Madinah and stayed there a number of days waiting, until the news of the people’s allegiance from different cities reached ”.Madinah. Thereafter, he along with Ibn ‘Abbas came forth and paid allegiance

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۵۱): “I narrate from Hisham bin Muhammad who reported from Abu - ۵ Mikhnaf who said: “Abd al-Rahman bin Jundab informed me saying: ‘Uqbah bin Sim’an –a servant of Rabab bint Imra’ al-Qais al-Kalbiyyah, the wife of al-Husayn (as) and the mother of Sakinah bint al-Husayn (as)- has narrated to me [this report].’” We have given ‘Uqbah’s biography earlier. Al-Mufid (pg.۲۰۲) also has related this and so .(has al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۸۹) ascribing the report to Muslim bin ‘Aqil (as

Al-Tabari: He was a Quraishi. He was born during the time of the Prophet (S). He led -۶ the Quraish when the people of Madinah revolted against Yazid (۵:۴۸۱). Then he joined Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah and fought on his side. Later, al-‘Adawi served as the governor of Kufah under Ibn al-Zubair as reported by al-Tabari (۵:۶۲۲). This has been related also by al-Ya’qubi (۳:۳۵), al-Mas’udi (۳:۸۳) and al-Khwarazmi (۲:۲۰۲), who narrated it from Muhammad bin Ishaq. Al-‘Adawi used to oppose Mukhtar until the latter expelled him from Kufah (۶:۳۱). Tabari shall also relate in the coming pages – from Hisham on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf who reported from Muhammad bin Qais- another meeting between Ibn al-Muti' and the Imam (as) which took place at .some watering place of the Arabs, located after Hajir and before Zarud

”?to al-Husayn (as): “May I be your ransom, where do you intend to go

He replied: “For the moment, I am going to Makkah. Thereafter, I will seek from Allah ”.that which is the best

Abdullah said: “May Allah choose the best for you and make us your ransom…When‘ you reach Makkah, beware of nearing [Kufah]; for it is an auspicious city. It was in this city that your father was killed and your brother betrayed and stabbed such that it almost took his life. So keep close to the holy sanctuary (haram), as you are the master of the Arabs, and by Allah, none of the people of Hijaz equals you. The people will call one another from all sides and gather round you. Do not leave the haram. May my paternal and maternal uncles be your ransom. By Allah! If you are killed, then we

(are indeed going to be enslaved after you!"(1)

Al–Husayn (as) in Makkah

He continued the journey until he reached Makkah(2) and entered the city on the night preceding Friday, third of Sha'ban.(3)

He stayed there throughout Sha'ban, the month of Ramadhan, Dhu al-Qa'dah and the first eight days of Dhu al-Hijjah.(4)

The people of Makkah started frequenting him and so did others who had come for the 'umrah, and those from other places.

Ibn al-Zubair was [already] in Makkah, having settled himself near the Ka'bah. He used to spend the whole day praying and performing the circumambulation (tawaf). He would visit al-Husayn (as) with those who came to visit him. [Sometimes,] he would

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۱- Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.۲۴۳) has related this from Hisham and Muhammad bin Ishaq. Al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۸۹) narrated it from Ibn al-A'tham.

۲- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۵۱), from 'Uqbah's report.

۳- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۸۷): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair informed me on the authority of 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifah that..." Imam al-Husayn's departure from Madinah was two days before the end of Rajab. Therefore, he must have covered the distance between Madinah and Makkah in only five days. The distance between the two is around ۵۰۰ kilometers. So he must have covered around ۱۰۰ km. a day, which is almost ۱۸ farsakh. This is twice the normal distance that used to be covered in one day during those days. Thus, we conclude from here that although the Imam (as) did not avoid the main road in fear of being traced –as mentioned earlier, since it involved fear and escape which was unbecoming of the Imam (as), nonetheless, he sped in his journey.

۴- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۸۱), also from the report of 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifah. Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.۲۴۵) has related it on the authority of Hisham.

come for two consecutive days and sometimes once in two days. He continuously

used to give his suggestions to [al-Husayn (as)]. He (as) was the most despised of Allah's creatures by Ibn al-Zubair, because he realized that the people of Hijaz would never pledge allegiance to him so long as al-Husayn (as) was in the city, and that al-Husayn (as) was more revered in their eyes and hearts, and that he (as) was more capable of commanding the people's obedience than him.(١)

The Letters from the People of Kufah

When the people of Kufah(٢) learnt about the death of Mu'awiyah, the people of Iraq spread rumours about Yazid and said: "Al-Husayn (as) and Ibn al-Zubair have refused to pay allegiance and have left for Makkah."(٣)

Muhammad bin Bishr al-Hamdani reports(۴): "We assembled in the house of Sulaiman bin Surad [al-Khuza'i(۵) and he addressed us] saying:

'Mu'awiyah is dead and al-Husayn (as) has withheld his pledge of allegiance to the people [i.e. the Banu Umayyah] and has gone to Makkah. You are his followers (shi'ah) and the followers of his father. If you know [in your hearts] that you will be his helpers and fighters against his enemy, then write to him. But if you fear failure and weakness, then do not tempt the man [to risk] his own life!'

They replied: 'No! We will fight his enemy and sacrifice our lives for him!'

Sulaiman said: 'Then write to him!'(۶) So they wrote to him:

'In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful. To Husayn bin 'Ali, from Sulaiman bin Surad, Musayyib bin

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١- Al-Tabari (۵:٣۵١), from the report of 'Uqbah. Al-Mufid (pg.٢٠٢) has narrated this also.

٢- Al-Tabari: There were ٣٠,٠٠٠ people in Kufah who had participated in the battle of al-Qadisiyyah (۴:٧۵). In the year ١٨ H, 'Umar appointed Shuraih bin al-Harith al-Kindi as the judge of Kufah (۴:١٠١). In ٢٠ H, 'Umar dismissed Sa'd from the governorship of Kufah as a result of the people complaining that he did not even know how to pray! It

was in the same year that ‘Umar evicted the Jews of Najran to Kufah (۴:۱۱۲). In the year ۲۱ H, he appointed ‘Ammar bin Yasir as the governor of Kufah, Ibn Mas’ud as the treasurer and ‘Uthman bin Hunaif as the one in charge of the lands and land tax. The people of Kufah complained against ‘Ammar, so he requested to be relieved of his post (۴:۱۴۴). ‘Umar replaced him with Abu Musa al-Ash’ari who stayed with them for only a year before they complained against him. So ‘Umar dismissed him and instead appointed Mughirah bin Shu’bah in his place. Kufah then had ۱۰۰,۰۰۰ fighters (۴:۱۶۵), whereas during the time of ‘Umar, it had ۴۰,۰۰۰ combatants, ۱۰,۰۰۰ of which would, every year, go on military expedition in defence of the territories. Accordingly, each of them participated in an expedition once in every four years (۴:۲۴۶). In the year ۳۷ H, the Commander of the Faithful, [‘Ali (as)], ordered the leaders of each tribe to write down the number of warriors in their respective tribes, and also their sons who could then participate in battles, as well as the slaves of the tribes, and thereafter send them to him. They sent him [the names of] ۴۰,۰۰۰ combatants, ۱۷,۰۰۰ sons capable of participating in battles, and ۸,۰۰۰ of their slaves. This sums up to ۶۵,۰۰۰ warriors (۵:۷۹), of which ۸۰۰ were from Madinah (۴:۸۳). Sa’d arranged them into groups: Kananah and their allies from among the Ahabish and Jadilah formed a group. Qadha’ah, Bajilah, Khath’am, Kindah, Hadhramaut and Azd comprised another group. Madhhij, Himyar, Hamdan and their followers made up the third group. Tamim, Hawazin and al-Rubab were the fourth group. The fifth group consisted of Asad, Ghatfan, Muharib, Al-Namr, Dabi’ah and Taghlib. The sixth group was made up of Ayad, ‘Akk, ‘Abd al-Qais and the people of Hijr and Dailam. This grouping remained in place throughout the reign of ‘Umar, ‘Uthman and ‘Ali (as) until the time of Ziyad when he rearranged them into four groups (۴:۴۸). [In the later order,] ‘Amru bin Harith was in charge of the group of the people of Madinah. Khalid bin ‘Arqatah was the head of the quarter of Tamim and Hamdan. Qais bin al-Walid bin ‘Abd Shams was the leader of Rabi’ah and Kindah, while Abu Burdah bin Abu Musa al-Ash’ari was the in charge of Madhhij and Asad. The leaders of all these groups [were among those who] testified against Hujr and his .(companions (۵:۲۶۸

.Al-Tabari (۵:۳۵۱), from the report of ‘Uqbah -۳

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۵۲): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Hajjaj bin ‘Ali informed me on the authority of -۴
”...Muhammad bin Bishr al-Hamdani who said

Al-Kashhi mentions him in his Rijal (pg. ۶۴, hadith no. ۱۲۴) on the authority of Fadhl -۵ bin Shadhan, under the topic: 'From among the great personalities of the tabi'un, their heads and the pious of them.' Al-Tusi also has mentioned him in his Rijal (pg.۴۳) among the companions of the Prophet (S) and of the Commander of the Faithful, ['Ali (as)]. However, al-Tusi remarks: "He stayed away from him on the day of Jamal and whose excuse in this regard has been fabricated!" Both his staying behind and the excuse have been reported by Nasr bin Muzahim on page six of his book. [Ibn Muzahim] says: "'Ali (as) said to [Ibn Surad]: 'You became doubtful, hung about and engaged in low trickery. I was considering you to be among the trustworthy people and among the quicker to support me." Al-Khuza'i replied: 'O the Commander of the Faithful...Have confidence in my love for you and I will be sincere to you. And there remain matters through which you will [come to] know your friend from your foe.' So he left him." In the battle of Siffin, 'Ali (as) appointed him as the commander of the right flank of his foot soldiers (Waq'at Siffin, pg.۲۰۵). Sulaiman engaged Hawshab -the leader of the people of Yemen who was from Sham- in a duel and killed him saying: "'Ali is loved by us. We ransom him with our fathers and mothers (Waq'at Siffin, pg.۴۰۱). He was struck on his face with a sword in the same battle (Waq'at Siffin, pg.۵۱۴). Abu Mikhnaf has counted Sulaiman bin Surad among the companions of the Prophet (S) and the leaders of the Shi'ah (al-Tabari:۵:۵۵۲). He led the Tawwabun movement in ۶۴ H (۵:۵۵۵). His excuse [for not joining al-Husayn (as)] was: "We acted .(smartly and waited to see what would happen until he was [finally] killed."! (۵:۵۵۴

.Al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۹۳) has narrated this in detail -۶

(Najabah(۱), Rafa'ah bin Shaddad,(۲

Habib bin MuZahir(۳) and his followers from among the believers and Muslims of .Kufah. Peace be upon you. We praise Allah besides whom there is no deity

All praise is to Allah who has broken your enemy, the obstinate tyrant who had leapt upon this community, robbed it and usurped its treasures (fay'). He was ruling over the people against their wish, killed their chosen ones and preserved the wicked among them. He made the wealth of Allah to be taken by turns (dulatan) among its tyrants and wealthy. So away with him as had been the case with the people of

.Thamud

We have no Imam over us, so proceed towards us. Perhaps Allah will unite us through you under the truth. Nu'man bin Bashir is in the governer's palace; we do not gather with him for the Friday [service], nor do we come out with him for 'Id [prayers]. If we learn that you have set out to us, we will drive him away and send him [back] to Sham, (by the will of Allah. Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you.'(۴

Then we sent the letter with 'Abdullah bin Sab' al-Hamdani(۵) and 'Abdullah bin Wal [al-Tamimi].(۶) The two men sped in their journey and met al-Husayn (as) in Makkah (on the tenth of the month of Ramadhan.(۷

We waited for two days and then sent Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi(۸), 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Arhabi(۹) and 'Umarah bin 'Ubaid al-Saluli,(۱۰) taking with them around [a hundred

p: ۹۸

Al-Kashhi mentions him in his Rijal (pg.۶۴, hadith no.۱۲۴) under the topic: 'From - ۱ among the outstanding personalities of the tabi'un, their heads and the pious of them.' Al-Tusi counts him in his Rijal (pg.۵۸, no.۸) among the companions of the Commander of the Faithful ['Ali (as)] and al-Hasan (as) (pg.۷۰, no.۴). Al-Fazari has added that he was among the leaders of a group that rushed from Kufah to Basrah in support of 'Ali (as), as reported in al-Tabari (۴:۴۴۸). Imam 'Ali (as) had sent Ibn Najabah with Bishr, together with a large number of his people, to resist against the raid of 'Abdullah bin Mas'adah al-Fazari (۵:۱۳۵). Ibn Najabah led the Tawwabun movement .(after Sulaiman bin Surad and was killed with them in ۶۵ H (۵:۵۹۹

Al-Kashhi has counted him in his Rijal (pg.۶۵, hadith no.۱۱۸) among those righteous - ۲ people who buried Abu Dharr. Shaikh al-Tusi [also] mentions him in his Rijal (pg.۴۱) among the companions of the Commander of the Faithful, ['Ali (as)], and on page ۶۸ as one of the companions of Imam al-Hasan (as). He has also added 'al-Bajali' to his name. He was with 'Ali (as) in Siffin as the leader of the Banu Bajalah [or Bajilah] (Waq'at Siffin, pg.۲۰۵). Later, Ibn Shaddad joined Hujr bin 'Adiyy and 'Amru bin al-

Hamq. When Ziyad bin Abih pursued ‘Amru, Ibn Shaddad fled with him to the mountains in Mosul. Though ‘Amru was then captured, Ibn Shaddad managed to escape with his horse (al-Tabari:۵:۲۶۵). He was the second of the Tawwabun leaders to address his fellow colleagues (۵:۵۵۳). He was commissioned to mobilize them (۵:۵۸۷). He was the last commander of the Tawwabun movement (۵:۵۹۶). Ibn Shaddad was a storyteller, so he used to tell stories to the right flank, inciting them to fight (۵:۵۹۸). He himself was fighting (۵:۶۰۱), but he returned to Kufah at night together with the people (۵:۶۰۵). Ibn Shaddad corresponded with Mukhtar (۶:۸) and took allegiance for him from the people (۶:۹). However, he revolted against Mukhtar in Kufah with the people of Yemen and was leading them in prayers (۶:۴۷). When Ibn Shaddad heard of a man from Hamdhan calling: ‘Revenge for ‘Uthman!’ in response to the call of Mukhtar: “Revenge for al-Husayn (as)’, he retorted: “What have we to do with ‘Uthman! I will not fight on the side of the avengers of ‘Uthman’s blood. He then said: “I am the son of Shaddad, following the path of ‘Ali. I am not a partisan of ‘Uthman bin Arwa.” Ibn Shaddad was killed at the bath of al-Mahbadhan at Sabkhah. He was an ascetic .((nasik) person (۶:۵

Al-Tabari: He led the left flank of al-Husayn’s army (۵:۴۲۲). Husayn bin Tamim - ۳ boasted of killing him and hanging his head on the breast of his horse. Qasim, son of Habib, avenged his father’s assassin, Budail bin Suraim al-Tamimi, as they were in the .army of Musab bin al-Zubair during the expedition of Bajmira

.(See al-Maqtal of al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۹۴ -۴

Al-Mufid (pg.۲۰۳) mentions him as ‘Abdullah bin Masma’, while al-Khwarazmi - ۵ .((pg.۱۹۴) refers to him as ‘Abdullah bin Sabi’. He was killed together with al-Husayn (as

Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.۱۴۴) names him as ‘Abdullah bin Masma’ al-Bakri. In his Rijal (pg.۷۷), -۶ Shaikh al-Tusi confines himself to mentioning their first names only and says: “‘Abdullah and ‘Ubaidullah; they are well known.” ‘Abdullah bin Wal al-Tamimi was the third leader of the Tawwabun movement and who was [ultimately] killed (al- .(Tabari:۵:۶۰۲

.(Al-Mufid (pg.۲۰۳) has narrated this, and so has Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.۲۴۴ -۷

Al-Tabari: Al-Asadi. He returned to Iraq together with Muslim bin ‘Aqil (as). When -۸ things became straitened for Muslim at al-Madhiq, he sent Qais with a letter to al-Husayn (as) (۵:۳۵۴). On his way back, he accompanied Imam (as) till Batn al-Hajir, who

then sent him with a letter to the people of Kufah. When Qais reached al-Qadisiyyah, he was arrested by Husayn bin Tamim al-Tamimi and sent to Ibn Ziyad. The latter ordered him to be brought before him and then thrown down from the top of the palace. He was then cut into pieces and thus he passed away. May Allah shower his mercy upon him (۵:۳۹۵). When al-Husayn (as) reached 'Udhaib al-Hijanat, he heard about the fate of Qais and could not control himself and his eyes flowed with tears. He said: "'Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait...' (Qur'an, ۳۳:۲۳). O Allah, make the heaven to be our abode and their's, and gather us with them under your ever-lasting mercy and where the desired rewards .(are deposited" (۵:۴۰۵

Al-Mufid (pg.۲۰۳) mentions him as 'Abdullah and 'Abd al-Rahman Shaddad al- - ۹ Arhabi! Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.۱۹۴) calls him 'Abdullah bin 'Abd al-Rahman! He was with .(Muslim on this way to Iraq (al-Tabari:۵:۳۵۴

Al-Khwarazmi (pg.۱۹۵) calls him 'Amir bin 'Ubaid. Al-Mufid (pg.۲۰۳) and Ibn al-Jawzi -۱۰ (pg.۲۴۴) mention him as 'Umarah bin 'Abdullah al-Saluli. He was with Muslim on his way to Iraq (al-Tabari:۵:۳۵۴), and also at Hani's place (۵:۳۶۳). But nothing is known .about him after this

and] fifty letters,(۱) [some written] by a single person, and others by [a group of] two ".or four

Muhammad bin Bishr continues: "Then we waited for two more days before sending :another letter with Hani' bin Hani' al-Sabi'i and Sa'id bin 'Abdullah al-Hanafi(۲) saying

In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful. To Husayn bin 'Ali, from his' followers (shi'ah) among the believers and the Muslims: 'Make haste! The people are waiting for you. They have no opinion [of any man] except you. So speed, speed! (Peace be upon you."(۳

There was another letter written to the Imam (as) by] Shabath bin Rib'i(۴), Hajjar bin] ,(Abjar(۵

,(Yazid bin al-Harith bin Yazid bin Ruwaim(۶

Azarah bin Qais(٧), 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj al-Zubaidiyy(٨) and Muhammad bin 'Umar al-' :Tamimi(٩) saying

The gardens have grown green, the fruits have ripened and the waters have" overflowed(١٠). So if you want to, then come to an army which has been gathered for (you. Peace be upon you."(١١

(The Reply of al-Husayn (as

All the messengers gathered before [al-Husayn (as)]. He read the letters and inquired from them about the situation of the people. He then wrote his reply and sent it with Hani' bin Hani' al-Sabi'i and Sa'id bin 'Abdullah al-Hanafi -who were the last of the [:messengers. [The reply read as follows

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From Husayn bin 'Ali to the" congregation of the believers and Muslims. Hani' and Sa'id have brought me your letters; they are the last two of your messengers who have come to me. I have understood everything

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The text of al-Tabari reads: "About ٥٣ letters", but Shaikh al-Mufid (pg.٢٠٣) mentions -١ a hundred and fifty. So has Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.٢۴۴) from Hisham bin Muhammad bin Ishaq, and al-Khwarazmi (pg.١٩٥) from Ibn al-A'tham. Therefore, it seems that 'thalathah' [i.e. three] in al-Tabari's report is the distorted form (tashif) of 'al-mi'ah' .[[i.e. a hundred

We shall mention later that the two returned to Kufah with the reply from Imam -٢ (as). With regard to Hani', no trace of him is found. As for al-Hanafi, he joined the .Imam (as) and was martyred together with him

.(Al-Mufid (pg.٢٠٣) has narrated this and so has Ibn al-Jawzi (pg.٢۴۴ -٣

Al-Tabari (٥:٣۶٩): Al-Yarbu'i al-Tamimi. He was the caller to prayer (mua'dhhin) of -۴ Sajjah, a man from the clan of Madhariyyah who had claimed prophethood (٣:٢٧٣). He later professed Islam and supported the uprising against 'Uthman. He then joined 'Ali (as) and was with him at Siffin, leading the warriors of the Banu 'Amru bin Han¨alah

from Kufah (Waq'at Siffin, pg.۲۰۵). He led the left flank of 'Ali's army at Nahrawan (al-Tabari:۵:۸۵). He was the emissary between 'Ali (as) and Mu'awiyah together with a group of other people (Waq'at Siffin, pg.۹۷). Shabath testified against Hujr bin 'Adiyy that he revolted against Ibn Ziyad (al-Tabari:۵:۲۶۹). He was present at the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as) and was leading the foot soldiers [of Ibn Ziyad] on the day of 'Ashura' (۵:۴۲۲). The people noticed his dislike [on that day] to fight al-Husayn (as); for when Ibn Sa'd asked him: "Why are you not coming forward to lead the archers to shoot at al-Husayn (as)?", he replied: "Glory be to Allah! Are you approaching the Shaikh of Mudhar and the rest of the people and send him with the archers?! Did not you find anyone else to entrust this job to and replace me with him?" After this, Shabath constantly used to say: "Allah will never give the inhabitants of this city any good after this, nor will he lead them to guidance. Are you not astonished that we fought alongside 'Ali bin Abi Talib and his son after him against the family of Abu Sufyan for five years, and now we are with their enemies against his son -while he is the best of the inhabitants on this earth; we are fighting him alongside the family of Mu'awiyah and the son of Sumayyah, the adulteress?! Misguidance! What a misguidance!" (۵:۴۳۲-۴۳۷). Shabath was exactly the one who had reproached the people of Kufah when they celebrated the killing of Ibn 'Awsajah (۵:۴۳۶). However, he was afraid of Ibn Ziyad to express such kind of his stands, so he built a mosque to show his joy for the killing of al-Husayn! (۶:۲۲). Later he fought against Mukhtar along with ۳,۰۰۰ warriors of Ibn Muti' who was a proxy of Ibn al-Zubair (۶:۲۳).

۵- Al-Tabari: Al-'Ijli (۵:۳۶۹). His father was a Christian and a revered personality amidst them (۵:۱۴۵). Ibn Abjar was among those who testified against Hujr bin 'Adiyy in favour of Ibn Ziyad (۵:۲۷۰). He also raised the banner of amnesty for his son on the day Muslim rose (۵:۳۶۹). On the day of 'Ashura', he denied having written a letter to the Imam (as) (۵:۴۲۵). Later, al-'Ijli fought for Mus'ab against Mukhtar (۶:۲۲) and also 'Abdullah bin al-Hurr and was defeated before Mus'ab's eyes. So the latter swore at him and sent him back (۶:۱۳۶). Ibn Abjar al-'Ijli was one of those people in Kufah to whom Abd al-Malik bin Marwan had written [soliciting their support]. They accepted on the condition that they should be granted the governorship of Isfahan. Accordingly, 'Abd al-Malik granted it to all of them (۶:۱۵۶). However, he had set out with Mus'ab pretending to fight 'Abd al-Malik, but when Mus'ab invited him for the battle he said:

"To this wicked man?!"(۶:۱۵۸). He was alive until the year ۷۱ H, after which there is no .trace of him

۶ - Al-Tabari: He was Abu Hawshab al-Shaibani. On the day of 'Ashura', he denied having written to al-Husayn (۵:۴۲۵). When Yazid was killed and 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad appointed 'Amru bin Huraith over Kufah, the latter started calling the people to pay allegiance to Ibn Ziyad. Here Yazid bin al-Harith stood up and said: "Praise be to Allah who relieved us of the son of Sumayyah! No! [We will not pay allegiance to him] and he does not deserve that honour!" So 'Amru bin Huraith ordered him to be imprisoned, but the Banu Bakr bin Wail intervened and prevented him from that (۵:۵۲۴). He then became the follower of 'Abdullah bin Yazid al-Khatmi al-Ansari, the governer of Kufah under Ibn al-Zubair, before Ibn Muti'. Ibn al-Harith used to prompt al-Ansari to fight Sulaiman bin Surad and his companions before their revolt (۵:۵۶۱-۵۶۳). He also urged him to imprison Mukhtar (۵:۵۸۰). Later, Ibn Muti' sent him to Jabbanah Murad to fight Mukhtar (۶:۱۸). He also sent him with an army of ۲,۰۰۰ men to a road in Lahham Jarir. They stopped at the opening of the roads (۶:۲۶) and positioned their archers on top of the houses and hence stopped Mukhtar from entering Kufah (۶:۲۸). He then rose against Mukhtar during his reign over Bani Rabi'ah (۶:۴۵) and was defeated along with his companions (۶:۵۲). Yazid was one of those who fought the followers of the sect of Azariqah, from the Khawarij, in ۶۸ H, along with Harith bin Abi Rabi'ah, the governer of Ibn al-Zubair in Kufah (۶:۱۲۴). Mus'ab appointed him as the administrator of Madain (۶:۱۳۴). In ۷۰ H, he was appointed the governor of Rayy under 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan (۶:۱۶۴). He was finally killed by the Khawarij (Ibsar al-'Ain, pg.۱۵). His grandfather was Yazid bin Ruwaim al-Shaibani, who was leading the Kufan tribe of .(Dhahl at Siffin alongside 'Ali (as) (Waq'at Siffin, pg.۲۰۵

۷ - Al-Tabari: Al-Ahmasi. He was among those who testified against Hujr bin 'Adiyy (۵:۲۷۰) and this is why he wrote to the Imam (as) so that he may expiate for his action. [And since he had written to him], he felt ashamed to meet him as Ibn Sa'd's envoy lest he should ask him what brought him [to Karbala'] (۵:۴۱۰). It was exactly because of this that on the evening of the ninth of Muharram, Zuhair bin al-Qain answered 'Azarah alluding to that: "By Allah, I did not write any letter to him, nor did I send any messenger, nor had I promised him my support." 'Azarah was the partisan of 'Uthman. He told Zuhair: "I was never a follower of the people of this house [i.e. the

family of the Prophet (S)], I was rather a partisan of 'Uthman" (۵:۴۱۷). On the day of 'Ashura', 'Umar bin Sa'd appointed him as the head of the cavalry as he was also their night watchman (۵:۴۲۲). The companions of al-Husayn (as) would not launch an attack on his cavalry except that they would break through them. So he complained to Ibn Sa'd about this and requested to be relieved of the task, and, instead, send towards them the foot soldiers and archers. Ibn Sa'd granted his request (۵:۴۳۶). Later, 'Azarah was one of those who carried the heads of the Imam's companions to Ibn Ziyad (۵:۴۵۶). No trace of him is found after this.

۸- Al-Tabari: Al-Zubaidi is among those who testified against Hujr bin 'Adiyy (۵:۲۷۰). His sister, Raw'ah bint al-Hajjaj, was the wife of Hani' bin 'Urwah and the mother of Yahya bin Hani' (۵:۳۶۴). When Hani' was said to be killed, al-Zubaidi accompanied a large group of people from the clan of Madhhij [to the palace of Ibn Ziyad]. But when Shuraih informed them that Hani' was still alive, they all dispersed (۵:۳۶۷). Al-Zubaidi was present in Karbala'. 'Umar bin S'ad sent him together with ۵۰۰ horse riders to position themselves at the river bank and stop al-Husayn (as) and his companions from reaching the water. This was three days before the martyrdom [of al-Husayn (as)] (۵:۴۱۲). He rebuked Ibn S'ad for his delay in granting the request of the Imam (as) for respite for the tenth night (۵:۴۱۷). Al-Zubaidi was leading the right flank –from the side of the Euphrates- of 'Umar bin Sa'd on the tenth day (۵:۴۲۲). He launched attacks along with his men on al-Husayn (as) and his companions and was inciting them to kill the Imam and his followers (۵:۴۳۵). He was among those who took the heads [of the martyrs] to Kufah (۵:۴۵۶). Ibn al-Zubaidi also supported Ibn Muti' against Mukhtar (۶:۲۸) in an army of ۲۰۰۰ men from the Thauriyyin (۶:۲۹), and then he fought in the area of the [Banu] Murad alongaside his followers from Madhhij (۶:۴۵). When Mukhtar attained victory, Ibn al-Zubaidi mounted his [horse] and took the direction of Sharaf and Waqisah and was not seen after that (۶:۵۲).

۹- Al-Tabari: Ibn 'Atarud. He was one of those who bore witness against Hujr bin 'Adiyy (۵:۲۷۰). He was leading the Mudhar in fighting against Mukhtar (۶:۴۷). Later, he paid allegiance to him and was sent to Azerbaijan as the governor (۶:۳۴). Ibn 'Atarud was alongside Harith bin Abi Rabi'ah –the governer of Kufah under Ibn al-Zubair- in the latter's struggle against the Khariji sect of Azariqah (۶:۱۲۴). He was among the adherents of Marwan in Kufah to whom 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan had written [asking

for his support] (۶:۱۵۶). He was later assigned by 'Abd al-Malik with the governreship of Hamadan (۶:۱۶۴). He then returned to Kufah and was there during the time of Hajjaj in ۷۵ H. (۶:۲۰۴). There is no trace of him after this period. His father, 'Umar bin 'Atarud, was leading the clan of Tamim from Kufah alongside 'Ali (as) at Siffin (Waq'at Siffin, pg.۲۰۵). Ibn 'Atarud was among those who slandered against 'Amru bin al-Humq al-Khuza'i before Ziyad in order for him to be killed, to the extent that he was .(reproached by 'Amru (۵:۲۳۶

Al-jumam', [as it has appeared in the Arabic text of this letter] is the plural of' -۱۰ 'jammah' which means 'a place where water gathers'. 'Tammat' is a past tense verb which means 'the waters have rose high and overflowed'. Notice, how the people who are attached to this world consider the worldly and transient matters to be among the !motives behind the Imam's advance towards Kufah! What a short-mindedness

.(See al-Irshad (pg.۲۰۳) and al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۴۴ -۱۱

which you have described and mentioned. The main statement of most of you is: 'There is no Imam over us, so come. Perhaps Allah will unite us through you under '.guidance and truth

I am sending you my brother, my cousin and the man from my family whom I trust, Muslim bin 'Aqil. I have ordered him to write to me about your status, condition and .opinion

If he writes to me that the opinion of the majority of you and of the men of wisdom and merit among you is united, in the same way as the messengers who have come to me have described and as I have read in your letters, then I will come to you speedily, if Allah wills. For by my life, a leader (imam) is none but one who acts according to the Book [of Allah], upholds justice, follows the truth, and devotes himself (entirely to Allah. And that is all."(۱

The Journey of Muslim Ibn 'Aqil

He then summoned Muslim bin 'Aqil and sent him with Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi(۲), 'Umarah bin 'Ubaid al-Saluli(۳) and 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Arhabi.(۴) Imam enjoined [Muslim] with the fear of Allah, and to conceal his

affair, and to act in a kindly way. If he saw that the people are united and had .commited themselves to agreement, then he should speedily inform him of that

Muslim thus started his journey till he reached Madinah. He prayed in the mosque of the Messenger of Allah (S) and said farewell to whom he wished among

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Al-Tabari (٥:٣٥٣): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Al-Hajjaj bin 'Ali informed me from - ١ Muhammad bin Bishr al-Hamdani who said…". Al-Mufid (pg.٢٠۴) and Ibn al-Jawzi .(pg.١٩۶) have narrated this also

These were the people who brought the one hundred and fifty letters from the ۴ ,٣ , -٢ people of Kufah to the Imam (as). We have already given their biographies [in brief]. Al-Mufid and Ibn al-Jawzi mention 'Umarah bin 'Ubaid as Ibn 'Abdullah. With regard to 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abdullah, al-Mufid (pg.٢٠۴) says: 'Abdullah and 'Abd al-Rahman, the two sons of Rashid al-Arhabi.

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his family members. Then he hired two guides from the clan of Qais. They set out with him but soon lost their way and were struck by severe thirst. The guides said to Muslim: "Take this road until you reach the watering place." That was at [a place (known as] al-Madhiq in Batn al-Khubait.(١)

Muslim's Letter to al-Husayn (as) On His Way to Kufah

Muslim bin Aqil sent a letter to al-Husayn (as) with Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi. He :wrote

I set out from Madinah with two guides and they missed the way and got lost. We" were overcome by thirst and soon both of them died. We kept going until we reached the watering place. We were only saved at the last moment of our lives. This watering place is in a place called al-Madhiq at Batn al-Khubait.(٢) I see an evil omen in what I have faced. Thus, if it seems fair to you, then relieve me of this [mission] and send

(someone else [in my place]. That is all."(٣

Al-Husayn's Response to Muslim

:Imam (as) wrote to him

I am afraid that what has prompted you to write to me to relieve you of the task I" sent you on is only cowardice. Therefore, go on with the task I have assigned to you. ".Peace be upon you

When Muslim received the letter,] he told the one who read it for him: "This [mission]] is not what I fear of myself." He continued until he reached [some] watering place [belonging to the tribe of Tayyi'. He stayed there, and then as he rode off, [he saw

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Al-Tabari (٥:٣٥٤) brings this report after the narration of Abu Mikhnaf from Abu al- -١ .Makhariq al-Rasibi

Khubt is located in the suburbs of Madinah, in the direction of Makkah. It seems -٢ that the guides strayed to the extent that they turned towards Makkah, as reported in .(Ibsar al-'Ain (pg.١۶

Al-Mufid (pg.٢٠۴) has narrated this and so has al-Khwarazmi (pg.١٩٧) with a slight -٣ difference. Al-Tabari has also related it on the authority of Mu'awiyah bin 'Ammar .(from Imam al-Baqir (as) (٥:٣۴٧

a man shooting at fawn –as it drew closer to him- and killed it. Muslim hence said: ".“[Thus] shall our enemy be destroyed, by the will of Allah

The Events In Kufah After The Arrival Of Muslim Bin 'Aqil

Muslim (as) Enters Kufah

Muslim (as) continued his journey until he reached Kufah [together with his three companions: Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi, 'Umarah bin 'Ubaid al-Saluli and 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abdullah bin al-Kadan al-Arhabi].(١) [There] he stayed in the house of (Mukhtar bin Abi 'Ubaid.(٢

The Shi‘ah began to visit him regularly. When a group of them gathered round him, he read out to them the letter of al-Husayn (as) and they all started weeping.

‘Abbas bin Abi Shu’aib al-Shakiri (۳) got up, praised Allah and then said: “Indeed I am not informing you about the people, nor do I know what is there in their hearts. I am not trying to deceive you of their condition either. By Allah, I am going to tell you about what I have prepared myself for. By Allah, I will answer you when you call. I will indeed fight with you against your enemy. I will strike with my sword in defense of you until I meet Allah. I expect nothing from this except what lies with Allah.”

Thereafter stood Habib bin MuZahir al-Faq’asi [al-Asadi] and said: “May Allah have mercy on you! You have reflected all that is in your heart by your brief talk.” He then said: “By Allah beside whom there is no deity! I stand on the same position as he does.” Then al-Hanafi(۴) also said something

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۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۵۵). This was on the fifth of Shawwal as mentioned in Muruj al-Dhahab (۲:۸۶) of al-Mas’udi.

۲- Al-Tabari: Al-Thaqafi. He was born in the first year of Hijrah (۲:۴۰۲). In ۳۷ H, his uncle Sa’d bin Mas’ud al-Thaqafi appointed him over Madain as his deputy (۵:۷۶). He remained there with his uncle until after the Year of Unity, ۴۰ H (۵:۱۵۹). Al-Tabari mentions what Mukhtar pointed to his uncle about the surrender of al-Hasan (as) to Mu’awiyah (۵:۵۶۹). During his rule over Kufah, Ziyad had invited Mukhtar to testify against Hujr bin ‘Adiyy but he evaded it (۵:۲۷۰). Mukhtar was the standard-bearer on the day Muslim rose in Kufah (۵:۳۸۱). In fact, he came out with the banner and his servants –without prior agreement with his companions- as soon as he learned about the arrest of Hani, [even] before the [attempted] rise of Muslim (as). Mukhtar yielded to the invitation of ‘Amru bin Huraith al-Makhzumi to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyad who struck out his face with a staff, which hit his eyes and seriously tore one. He was then imprisoned until the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as). Mukhtar had a sister by the name of Safiyyah, who was the wife of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar. Mukhtar sent his cousin -Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi- to Ibn ‘Umar, asking him to write to Yazid

and request him to order Ibn Ziyad to free him. Ibn ‘Umar did so and Ibn Ziyad expelled Mukhtar from Kufah. He then went to Hijaz and paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair and participated with him in a severe battle against the people of Sham. Five months after the death of Yazid, Mukhtar left Ibn al-Zubair and went to Kufah (۵:۵۷۰-۵۷۸). He entered the city at the time when Sulaiman bin Surad al-Khuza’i was calling the Shi‘ah to repent and avenge the blood of al-Husayn (as). Here Mukhtar claimed that he was sent by Ibn al-Hanafiyyah and that Sulaiman was not acquainted with warfare, and therefore, he would end up killing himself and his companions (۵:۵۶۰۰۵۸۰). Mukhtar was imprisoned by Ibn Muti’ - the governor of Ibn al-Zubair- at the start of the Movement of Tawwabun (۵:۶۰۵). Mukhtar sent his slave –Zarbiyy- to Ibn ‘Umar asking him to write and request Ibn Muti’ to release him. Ibn ‘Umar did so and Ibn Muti’ released him after taking an oath and surety from him (۶:۸). Mukhtar was freed and attained victory over the matter. He fought Ibn Ziyad and killed him. He also killed the assasins of al-Husayn (as). He was finally killed by Mus’ab bin al-Zubair in the year ۶۷ H (۶:۱۰۷) who ordered his body to be hung. Thus, his body was nailed beside the mosque and remained there until it was removed by Hajjaj al-Thaqafi (۶:۱۱۰). Mus’ab also killed one of Mukhtar’s wives by the name of ‘Umarah bint Nu’man bin Bashir and freed his other wife, Umm Thabit, daughter of Samurat bin Jundab (۶:۱۱۲). In the year ۷۱ H, Mus’ab fought against ‘Abd al-Malik in whose army Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi happened to be present. Zaidah killed Mus’ab and cried: revenge for Mukhtar! (۶:۱۵۹). Mukhtar’s house was situated near the mosque and was purchased by ‘Isa bin Musa al-‘Abbasi from his heirs in ۱۵۹ H (۸:۱۲۲). It seems that the reason behind choosing Mukhtar’s house for the stay of Muslim (as) was due to the fact that the former was the son in-law of Nu’man bin Bashir, the governer of Kufah. This was enough as a protection, especially if we take into consideration al-Tabari’s report (۵:۵۶۹) which says: “The Shi‘ah were reproaching and reviling Mukhtar because of his stand in the case of Hasan bin ‘Ali (as), on the day he was stabbed in the darkness of an overlaid lane and was then carried to Madain in broad day light.”

۳- Al-Tabari: Thereafter, he took Muslim bin ‘Aqil’s letter to Imam al-Husayn (as) (۵:۳۷۵). He remained with him till he was killed (۵:۴۴۴). He was from the [Banu] Hamdan.

۴- He is Sa’id bin ‘Abdullah al-Hanafi, the messenger of the people of Kufah to Imam al-Husayn (as). He had returned to Kufah with the Imam’s reply to them.

.similar to that

The Shi‘ah visited [Muslim] so frequently that his place [of residence] became well-known and the news reached Nu’man bin Bashir(۱). [So he set out for the mosque] and :went up on the pulpit. After praising Allah and glorifying Him, he said

O servants of Allah! Fear Allah and do not hasten to dissension (fitnah) and discord;“ for in that men will be destroyed, blood will be shed and property will be plundered... I will not combat one who does not combat me. I will not pounce on the one who does not pounce on me. I will neither reproach you, nor provoke you. I will not apprehend [you merely] on grounds of accusation and suspicion. But if you displayed your [true] face to me, violate your pledge of allegiance and oppose your leader (imam), then by Allah, other than whom there is no deity, I will indeed strike you with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand, even if I do not have any of you to help me! Yet I hope that those among you who know the truth are more numerous than those whom ”.falsehood will destroy

Abdullah bin Muslim bin Sa’id al-Hadhrami(۲) - an ally of the Banu Umayyah- stood up‘ and said: “What you see can only be adequately dealt with by violence; for the view which you hold about what [should be done] between you and your enemy is that of ”!the weak

Nu’man retorted [saying]: “I would prefer to be one

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۱ - Al-Tabari (۵:۳۵۵): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Numair bin Wa’lah informed me on the authority of Abu al-Waddak who said: ‘Nu’man bin Bashir came out to us and ”...ascended the pulpit

۲- Al-Tabari: His name appears in the list of those who gave witness against Hujr bin ‘Adiyy as ‘Abdullah bin Muslim bin Shu’bah al-Hadhrami. (۵:۲۶۹)

of the weak [while remaining] in obedience to Allah than to be one of the mighty [while .being] in rebellion against Allah!” Thereafter he descended from the pulpit

:[Abdullah bin Muslim left the mosque and wrote to Yazid bin Mu'awiyah [saying'

Muslim bin 'Aqil has arrived in Kufah and the Shi'ah have pledged allegiance to him on" behalf of Husayn bin 'Ali. So if you have any need for Kufah, then send it a strong man, who will carry out your orders and act in the same way as you would against your ".enemy. Nu'man bin Bashir is a weak man, or he is acting like a weak man

Then 'Umarah bin 'Uqbah(۱) wrote to Yazid in similar vein. Then 'Umar bin Sa'd bin Abi (Waqqas(۲

(wrote to him in the same.(۳

Al-Husayn's Letter to the People of Basrah

Al-Husayn (as) sent a copy of his letter -with his servant Sulaiman(۴)- to the heads of the five districts of Basrah(۵) and also to such noblemen as Malik bin Masma' al-,(Bakri(۶

(Ahnaf bin Qais(۷

,(Mundhir bin al-Jarud(۸), Mas'ud bin 'Amru(۹

:Qais bin Haitham(۱۰) and 'Amru bin 'Ubaidullah bin Mu'ammar. The letter read

Allah chose Muhammad (S) over His creation, honoured him with prophethood and" chose him to convey His message. Then Allah took him to Himself after he had sincerely admonished the people and conveyed to them what He had sent him with. We are his family, his friends, his trustees and his inheritors. We are more entitled from among the people to his position than any other person is. But our community held onto it to

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Al-Tabari: He is the brother of Walid bin 'Uqbah bin Abi Muit. He and his brother, -۱ Walid, had come from Makkah to Madinah to request the Messenger of Allah (S) to send back to them their sister, Umm Kulthum -who had migrated to Madinah- by

virtue of the terms agreed in the treaty of Hudaibiyyah, but the Prophet refused (۲:۶۴۰). Their house was [situated near] the valley of Kufah (۴:۲۷۴). 'Umarah's daughter, Umm Ayyub, was the wife of Mughirah bin Shu'bah. When Mughirah died, she was married by Ziyad bin Abih (۵:۱۸۰). 'Umarah is the one who slandered against 'Amru bin al-Hamq al-Khuza'i before Ziyad (۵:۲۳۶). His father, 'Uqbah bin Abi Mu'it, was brought to the Messenger of Allah [s] while he was an infidel (kafir) and the Prophet [s] ordered him to be killed. So he said: "O Muhammad! Who is going to look after the children? The Prophet [s] replied: "The fire" (۵:۳۴۹). 'Umarah was present in the palace on the day Muslim was killed (۵:۳۷۶). He is also the one who slandered against Mukhtar before Ibn Ziyad on the day Muslim rose (۵:۵۷۰). There are no reports about him after this.

۲- Al-Tabari: His mother was Bushra, the daughter of Qais bin Abi al-Kaisam, who was taken as a captive among those who had turned their back from Islam after the Prophet [s] (۳:۳۴۱). So he must have been born in the beginning of the second decade of Hijrah, and must have been around fifty in Karbala'. In the year ۱۷ or ۱۹ H when he was still a young man, his father, Sa'd, sent him with 'Ayadh bin Ghunm to conquer north of Iraq and Syria (۴:۵۳). In the year ۳۷ H, 'Umar tempted his father to participate in the arbitration (tahkim), and so he brought him [for this purpose] from the watering place of the Banu Sulaim in a desert area, to Dumah al-Jandal, at a place known as Adhrakh. He then told him: "O my father! Attend their deliberations, for indeed you are a companion of the Prophet and were one of the members of the Shura [i.e. the council formed by the second caliph]. So be present, for you are more entitled to the caliphate than any other person" (۵:۷-۶۶). ['Umar bin Sa'd] was one of those who gave witness against Hujr (۵:۲۶۹) and among those who wrote to Yazid advising him to save the situation in Kufah (۵:۳۵۶). He disliked Muslim bin 'Aqil making his will to him and [later] disclosed it to Ibn Ziyad who said: "A trustworthy person never betrays you, but sometimes a traitor has to be trusted" (۵:۳۷۷). Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath al-Kindi wanted to appoint 'Umar bin Sa'd as the governor of Kufah after Ibn Ziyad, but the members of the Banu Hamdan opposed him; their men came out putting on swords, while their women were lamenting for al-Husayn (as) (۵:۵۲۴). Mukhtar sent Abu 'Umrah against 'Umar bin Sa'd. The former managed to kill him and brought his head to Mukhtar. He then killed his son, Hafs bin 'Umar. Mukhtar then said: "By Allah! If I were to kill three quarters of the Quraish, they would not have still compensated for

even a fingertip of al-Husayn (as)." He then dispatched their heads to Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyyah in Madinah (۶:۲-۶۱).

۳ - Al-Tabari (۵:۳۵۷): Hisham says: "'Awanah has narrated: 'When [all] the letters reached Yazid with the [maximum] gap of two days between them, he summoned Sarjaun*, Mu'awiyah's retainer, and asked him: 'What is your opinion? Al-Husayn has set out for Kufah, while Muslim bin 'Aqil is there receiving allegiance on behalf of al-Husayn. I have been informed that Nu'man is weak and [I have had] other bad reports about him. What do you think? Who should I appoint as the governer of Kufah?' [This was at a time when] Yazid was angry with 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. Sarjaun said: 'Tell me, if Mu'awiyah was to be raised, would you accept his opinion?' Yazid replied: 'Yes.' [Here,] Sarjaun took out Mu'awiyah's [letter in which] he had appointed 'Ubaidullah over Kufah and said: 'This is the opinion of Mu'awiyah. He enjoined this letter as he died.' Yazid accepted the advice and summoned Muslim bin 'Amru al-Bahili** and dispatched him to 'Ubaidullah in Basrah with the [letter of] his appointment. He wrote to him [as follows]: 'My followers among the people of Kufah have written to me that Muslim bin 'Aqil is in Kufah gathering people, in order to cause difference in the ranks of the Muslims. Therefore, go to the people of Kufah when you read this letter of mine, and search for Ibn 'Aqil as if you were looking for a bead until you find him. Then bind him [in chains], kill him or expel him. That is all.' Muslim bin 'Amru set out till he reached Basrah and urged 'Ubaidullah to get prepared and move to Kufah the next day. Tabari has narrated this on the authority of 'Ammar al-Duhani*** from Abu Ja'far al-Baqir (as): "He then summoned his servant called Sarjaun whose advice he used to seek, and informed him of the news. Sarjaun said to him: 'If Mu'awiyah was alive, would you have taken his counsel?' Yazid answered: 'Yes.' Sarjaun said: 'Then accept [this] from me; there is no one suitable for Kufah except 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. So appoint him over it.' Yazid was then angry with 'Ubaidullah and was even seriously thinking of dimissing him from Basrah. Yet, Yazid wrote to him showing his satisfaction and informing him that, besides Basrah, he has also appointed him over Kufah. He also wrote [to him] that he must search for Muslim bin 'Aqil and kill him if he were to find him" (۵:۳۴۸). * Sarjaun bin Mansur al-Rumi was Mu'awiyah's scribe and the record keeper of his office (al-Tabari:۵:۲۳۰ ۶:۱۸۰). ** Al-Tabari (۵:۲۲۸): Muslim bin 'Amru al-Bahili was in Basrah together with Ziyad bin Abih. He was respectable in the

clan of Bahilah and was leading it in the year ۴۶ H. He resided in Sham [for some time] and was thus counted to be from both Sham and Basrah. He returned to Basrah with Yazid's letter to Ibn Ziyad and then moved with him to Kufah. When Hani' bin 'Urwah was brought before Ibn Ziyad, al-Bahili asked him to submit Muslim bin 'Aqil to him (۵:۳۶۶). Al-Bahili also abused Muslim when he reached the gate of the palace and asked for water (۵:۳۷۶). Later, he flattered Mus'ab bin al-Zubair who then sent him to fight Ibn al-Hurr al-Ju'fi, but he was defeated in ۶۸ H (۶:۱۳۲). He was acting as an assistant of Mus'ab (۶:۱۳۶) and was killed together with Budair al-Jathaliq in a battle against Marwan in ۷۱ H (۶:۱۵۸). Al-Bahili used to love wealth exceedingly (۵:۴۳۲). He had seven sons: Qutaibah, 'Abd al-Rahman, 'Abdullah, 'Ubaidullah, Salih, Bashshar and Muhammad (۶:۵۱۶), all of whom joined Hajjaj bin Yusuf. Hajjaj appointed Qutaibah over Khurasan in the year ۸۶ H (۶:۴۲۴). Qutaibah later fought a battle and conqured Bikand, Nushkath, Ramthin, Bukhara, Shuman, Kush, Nasaf, Khamjard, Samarqand, Shash, Farghanah, Kashghar upto the borders of China. He also made peace with Nizak, Saghad and Khwarazmshah. Qutaibah was killed along with his brothers in ۹۶ H (۶:۴۲۹-۵۰۶). *** 'Ammar al-Duhani was the father of Mu'awiyah bin 'Ammar. Mu'awiyah was among the companions of Imam al-Sadiq (as) and Imam al-Ka¨im (as). His father, 'Ammar, was an outstanding personality and considered to be reliable by the people. His agnomen was Abu Mu'awiyah. He has, at times, narrated [reports] from Abu Ja'far al-Baqir (as) (See al-Rijal of 'Allamah al-Hilli, pg.۱۶۶). 'Ammar also wrote a .[book as reported by Ibn al-Nadim in al-Fihrist (pg.۲۳۵; Europe edition

Historians have differed over the name of this messenger of al-Husayn (as) to - ۴ Basrah. In this book, he is called Sulaiman as he is in al-Maqtal of al-Khwarazmi (۱:۱۹۹) who narrated that from Ibn al-A'tham. Sayyid Ibn Tawus has given him the same name in al-Luhuf, but with the agnomen of Abu Razin, whereas this was in fact his father's agnomen. His mother was Kabshah, a slave of al-Husayn (as). She used to serve in the house of Umm Ishaq al-Tamimiyyah, one of al-Husayn's wives, and then got married to Abu Razin and gave birth to Sulaiman. Ibn Nama writes in Muthir al-Ahzan (pg.۱۲) that Imam (as) sent the letter through Dhuray' al-Sadusi. Sayyid al-Amin .(has mentioned both of them together in his Lawaij al-Ashjan (pg.۳۶

The city of Basrah was divided into five parts, each of them having a leader from - ۵ .among their outstanding men

Al-Tabari: Malik bin Masma’ al-Bakri al-Jahdari. He was the head of the clan of Banu Bakr bin Wail in Basrah (۴:۵۰۵). He granted asylum to Marwan bin Hakam on the day he was defeated. The descendants of Marwan remained grateful to them for this favour and honoured them, while the Banu Bakr made use of their good relationship with the Banu Marwan! (۵:۵۳۶). Malik was inclined towards the Banu Umayyah and therefore refused to support Ziyad against Ibn al-Khadhrami, whom Mu’awiyah had earlier sent to Basrah to invite the people to his authority (۵:۱۱۰). Malik was the one who swore allegiance to Ibn Marjanah when Yazid died, but later he infringed his allegiance and broke into the treasure house along with a group of other people, and plundered it (۵:۵۰۵). Later, Malik was accused of trying to restore Ibn Ziyad in the office in Basrah (۵:۵۱۲). Malik bin Masma’ was the head of the quarter of Bakr bin Wail from Yemen which comprised the Lahazim, which consisted of the Banu Qais bin Tha’labah and their allies, Ghazzah; the clan of Shiya’ al-Lat and its allies: ‘Ijl; and the family of Dhuhal bin Tha’labah along with its allies: Yashkur and Dai’ah bin Rabi’ah bin Nazzar. These groups were nomads, while the Hanifah were city dwellers (۵:۵۱۵). When the tribe of Azd moved to Basrah towards the end of Mu’awiyah’s rule and the early days of Yazid’s reign, Malik approached them and renewed the alliance with them (۵:۵۱۶). In the year ۶۴ H, he once again renewed the alliance with them while Mas’ud bin ‘Amru al-Ma’na was in charge of them. They revolted against ‘Abdullah bin al-Harith bin Naufal bin ‘Abd al-Muttalib al-Qarashi al-Hashimi, with the intention of reinstating Ibn Ziyad in the office. They were defeated and Malik’s house was set on fire (۵:۵۲۱). Malik defended the followers of Mukhtar in Basrah under tribal fervor, though he did not share with them their views (۶:۶۸). When Mus’ab fought Mukhtar, Malik led the district of Bakr bin Wail in support of Mus’ab (۶:۹۵). He also gave refuge to Khalid bin ‘Abdullah bin Khalid bin ‘Ubaid who was sent to Basrah by ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwan to invite people to his authority. Malik even took up arms in his defence and sustained injuries to his eyes. As a result, he was annoyed by the battle and sought refuge with ‘Ubaidullah bin ‘Ubaidullah bin Mu’ammar, Mus’ab’s deputy. ‘Ubaidullah gave him asylum but also expelled Khalid from Basrah. Malik thereafter was afraid of Mus’ab, so he fled to his people at Tha’j (۶:۱۵۲-۱۵۵). Mus’ab [in turn] demolished his house (۶:۱۵۵). There are no reports about him after this. -۶

Al-Tabari: Al-Ahnaf Sakhr bin Qais Abu Bahr al-Sa’di. He has related [narrations] -۷

from ‘Abbas bin ‘Abd al-Muttalib (١:٢٦٣). In the year ١٧ H, ‘Utbah bin Ghazwan sent him together with the delegation of the people of Basrah to ‘Umar (٤:٧٤). He was among those people of Basrah who had participated in the battle against Persia in ١٧ H (٤:٨١). ‘Umar –based on his own judgement- entrusted him with the standard of Khurasan in order to conquer it (٤:٩٤). He pursued Yazdgard until he was killed (٤:١٧١). Al-Ahnaf also conquered Herat in ٣١ H (٤:٣٠١) and signed a peace treaty with [the people of] Mirwadud (٤:٣١٠) and Balakh (٤:٣١٣). He was among those people of Basrah with whom ‘Aishah was in correspondence (٤:٤٦١). During the battle of Basrah, Ahnaf went to see ‘Ali (as) who invited him and his people in the city not to fight against him. Ahnaf called on his men not to take up arms and they accepted his call and withdrew. When ‘Ali (as) gained victory, Ahnaf entered the city with him, along with his ١٠,٠٠٠ (٤:٤٩٧) or ٦,٠٠٠ (٤:٤٦٨) or ٤,٠٠٠ men (٤:٥٠١). Ahnaf renewed his pledge with ‘Ali (as) in the evening of the same day (٤:٥٤١). Later, Ahnaf came to ‘Ali (as) at Kufah and wrote to his kinsmen in Basrah inviting them to come over to Kufah, so that they could move together to Siffin and they accepted that (Waq’at Siffin, pg.٢٤). Ahnaf was leading Tamim, Dubbah and Rubab on that day (Waq’at Siffin, pg.١١٧). Nevertheless, he was apprehensive about the loss of Arabs [in the battle] (Waq’at Siffin, pg.٣٨٧). Ahnaf proposed himself to ‘Ali (as) for the arbitration (tahkim) and pointed to the tenderness of Abu Musa, but his proposal was denied by Ash’ath bin Qais (Waq’at Siffin, pg.٥٠١). Ahnaf stopped ‘Ali from erasing his name as the leader of the believers on the day of Siffin (Waq’at Siffin, pg.٥٠٨). When Ash’ath came out to read the agreement reached at the arbitration, Ahnaf stopped him from that and a man from the Banu Tamim engaged in a [brief] skirmish with Ash’ath with his sword. On seeing this, the people of Yemen came forward to take revenge from the Banu Tamim, so Ahnaf [immediately] went to Ash’ath and apologized to him (Waq’at Siffin, pg.٥١٣). He had also adviced Abu Musa not to be deceived [in the arbitration] (Waq’at Siffin: pg. ٥٣٦). ‘Ali (as) used to invite Ahnaf together with the Banu Hashim for consultation (٥:٥٣). Ahnaf came out with the Banu Tamim in an army of ١,٥٠٠ men during his second departure to Siffin (al-Tabari:٥:٧٨). In the year ٥٠ H, Ahnaf went to see Mu’awiyah who awarded him ١٠٠,٠٠٠ [dirhams] (٥:٢٤٢). Again in ٥٩ H, Ibn Ziyad sent him to Mu’awiyah where he was received last (٥:٣١٧). Ahnaf later paid allegiance to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad after Yazid in order to attain the governorship of Basrah (٥:٥٠٧). He also promised Ibn Ziyad to bring

to him Ibn al-Zubair's propagandist. But when he saw the latter's refusal, Ahnaf gave up persuading him (۵:۵۰۸). When the tribe of Azd was attempting to reinstate Ibn Ziyad to the governership after his escape, Banu Tamim flocked on Ahnaf complaining to him of the return of Ibn Ziyad to power, and also of the killing of some men from the Banu Tamim at the hands of the Azd. So Ahnaf rose with them against the Azd and killed Mas'ud bin 'Amru, the head of the Azd and the one who had granted protection to Ibn Ziyad. Upon this, Ibn Ziyad fled to Sham (۵:۵۱۹). Subsequently, Ahnaf paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair (۵:۶۱۵). In ۶۷ H, he fought against Mukhtar alongside Mus'ab bin al-Zubair (۶:۹۵) and was the one to advice Mus'ab to kill those of Mukhtar's followers who had surrendered (۶:۱۱۶). It seems Ahnaf was dead by the year ۷۱ H .((۶:۱۵۷

Al-Tabari: He was leading the the clans of Jadh'ah and Bakr bin 'Abd al-Qais in -۸ support of 'Ali (as) on the day of Jamal (۵:۵۰۵). His daughter, Bahriyyah, was 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad's wife. When Yazid bin al-Mufarragh al-Himyari mocked at the family of Ziyad, Ibn Jarud gave him refuge, but Ibn Ziyad denied him (۵:۳۱۸). Later, Ibn Ziyad appointed Ibn Jarud over Sindh in India where he died in ۶۲ H, as reported in al-.(Isabah (۳:۴۸۰

Al-Tabari: Mas'ud bin 'Amru bin 'Adiyy al-Azdi, the head of the Azd during the battle -۹ of Jamal in Basrah (۴:۵۰۵). He is the one who gave refuge to Ibn Marjanah [i.e. Ibn Ziyad] when the people opposed him. Ibn Marjanah waited for ninty days after the death of Yazid before he went to Sham (۵:۵۲۵). Mas'ud sent with Ibn Ziyad ۱۰۰ men from the clan of Azd -who were led by Qurrah bin 'Amru bin Qais- to escort him to Sham (۵:۵۲۲). Ibn Marjanah appointed Mas'ud as his deputy when he left Basrah. Mas'ud thus set out accompanied by his clansmen until he reached the palace and entered (۵:۵۲۵). A group of the Khawarij entered the mosque while Mas'ud was on the pulpit, accepting allegiance from whoever came to him. A Persian Muslim among them - who had embraced Islam after entering Basrah and then joined the Khawarij- shot at Mas'ud's heart and killed him and then they left the mosque (۵:۵۲۵). They were either ۴۰۰ or ۵۰۰ in number and were from the Ashuri's (۵:۵۱۹), together with the Mah-Afridun who presented themselves to the Banu Tamim [on their way to Basrah]. Salamah asked them: "Where are you heading to?" They replied: "Towards you [i.e. Basrah]." So Salamah said: "Then move ahead of us." Accordingly, they were [moving]

ahead of them. [Following Mas'ud's assassination] the people of Azd attacked this group of the Khawarij killing a number of them and injuring others, and finally expelled them from Basrah. Some members of the Banu Tamim confessed thereafter that they were the ones who invited this group to Basrah and entered the city with them. So the Azd attacked the Banu Tamim and a great number from both sides were killed. They finally agreed on ١٠٠,٠٠٠ dirhams –ten times more than the amount specified by the Shari'ah- as the blood-money for Mas'ud's killing and thus reconciled .((٥:٥٢۶

١٠- Al-Tabari (۴:٣١۴): Qais bin al-Haitham al-Sulami. In the year ٣٢ H, 'Abdullah bin 'Amir appointed him over Khurasan together with Qais' cousin, 'Abdullah bin Khazim. When 'Abdullah bin 'Amir came out of Khurasan, having mobilized around ۴٠,٠٠٠ men from Herat, Qahistan, Tabas and Badghis, Ibn Khazim took out a fake document -produced by himself- which he attributed to Ibn 'Amir, claiming that he had been appointed as the ruler of Khurasan, in case there was a war. So Qais accepted it and left the place to come to Basrah. Thereafter, the uprise against 'Uthman came up and 'Uthman asked for help from the people of Basrah through 'Abdullah bin 'Amir. As 'Abdullah asked for their assistance, Qais came forward and addressed the people urging them to assist 'Uthman. The people rushed to his help but were then informed of Uthman's murder and so they returned (٥:٣۶٩). It has been said that Qais had been the chief of security guards in Basrah for 'Abdullah bin 'Amir during the reign of Mu'awiyah in ۴١ H (٥:١٧٠). He later appointed him as the governer of Khurasan for two years (٥:١٧٢). Qais failed to send him the taxes on time and so Ibn 'Amir wanted to dismiss him. 'Abdullah bin Khazim asked Ibn 'Amir to make him in charge of Khurasan and the latter was about to write for him his letter of appointment when he learned about it. So Qais left Khurasan and went to see Ibn 'Amir. The latter ordered Qais to be whipped (٥:٢٠٩) hundred lashes, shaved his head and imprisoned him. Ibn 'Amir was [in fact] Qais' uncle, so his mother pleaded for his release and he released him (٥:٢١٠). In the year ۴۴ H, Ibn 'Amir appointed a man from the Banu Yashkur –either Tufail bin 'Awf al-Yashkuri or 'Abdullah bin Abi Shaikh al-Yashkuri (٥:٢١٣)- as the governor of Khurasan (٥:٢٠٩), who sympathized with Qais bin Haitham and appointed him as his deputy in Basrah whenever he set out to visit Mu'awiyah (٥:٢١٣). Mu'awiyah gave the hand of his daughter, Hind, to him in marriage and dismissed him in ۴۴ H from the governership of

Basrah (٥:٢١۴). Mu'awiyah then appointed Ziyad bin Sumayyah in his place in the year ۴٥ H. Ziyad put Qais bin Haitham in charge of Mirwad al-Raudh, Al-Fariyab and Taliqan (٥:٢٢۴). In the year ۶١ H -after the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as), Qais was appointed as the deputy of 'Abd al-Rahman bin Ziyad in Khurasan, whenever the latter would go to see Yazid. However, Yazid dismissed him and Qais remained in isolation (٥:٣١۶). When Yazid died Qais was in Basrah, and Dahhak bin Qais wrote to him inviting him towards himself (٥:٥٠۴), though Qais was inclined towards Nu'man bin Sahban al-Rasibi, since the people of Basrah had oppointed these two [i.e. Nu'man and Sahban] from among the Banu Umayyah as leaders over them after Ibn Ziyad. Afterwards, they [i.e. Dahhak and Qais] agreed upon a Hashimite from the clan of Mudhar (٥:٥١٢). In ۶۶ H, Qais was the head of the security guards and the fighting forces in Basrah for Ibn al-Zubair during the battle against Muthanna bin Mukharribah al-'Abdi al-Basri, the one who used to invite people towards Mukhtar (۶:۶٧). He, together with Mus'ab bin al-Zubair, were at the head of the district of Ahl al-'Aliyah in their encounter with Mukhtar in ۶٧ H (۶:٩٥). In the year ٧١ H, Qais was hiring people –in support of Ibn al-Zubair- to help him fight against Khalid bin 'Abdullah, the one who was calling the people towards 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan (۶:٧١). Qais used to warn the people of Iraq against betraying Mus'ab (۶:١٥٧). This is our last encounter with the story of Qais. Perhaps, he was killed in ٧١ H along with the companions of Mus'ab at the hands of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan.

our exclusion and we did not oppose them; [for] we detested disunity and loved the well-being [of the community]. We know that we are more entitled to that position and truly worthy of it than those who have taken it over.(١) They [may] have done well, put things in order and pursued the truth.

I am sending to you my messenger with this letter. I invite you to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of his Prophet (S). Indeed, the Sunnah has been eradicated (umitat) and the innovations (bid'ah) have been revived. If you listen to my speech and obey my commands, I will guide you to the right path. Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you."

All these noblemen read the letter and concealed it's content except for Mundhir bin

Jarud. He was afraid, for he thought that [the sending of Sulaiman, the messenger of al-Husayn (as)] might be a conspiracy by 'Ubaidullah. Thus, he came with the messenger to Ibn Ziyad in the evening preceding the day he intended to leave for Kufah, and asked the messenger to read the letter to him. ['Ubaidullah] asked the .messenger to come forward and [as he did so,] he put him to the sword

Ibn Ziyad's Address in Basrah

:Ibn Ziyad went on the pulpit of Basrah, praised Allah and glorified Him and said

By Allah! The intractable camel (su'bah) shall never be coupled with me(۲); and I will" not let anyone clatter (qa'qa'ah) before me(۳); I will punish (la-nakilun) whoever is hostile towards me(۴); I will prove

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This indicates that the acceptance of this situation by the Ahl al-Bait (as) was only to -۱ .avoid discord [within the community] and ward off evil, not out of their willing consent

Al-su'bah as it has appeared in the Arabic text means a she-camel who is not easy -۲ to mount. By using this term, Ibn Ziyad meant to say that as if he has mounted Basrah .and leading it. Thus, he would not allow it to become difficult for himself to get on

Al-qa'qa'ah means voice. As if he meant to say: I will not let the people speak about -۳ .their hatred and dislike to me

.Nakilun comes from al-nikal which means punishment and revenge -۴

to be a poison for whoever fights me; Indeed, the tribe of Qarrah fairly treated the .(one who shot at them(۱

O people of Basrah! Verily the commander of the faithful has made me in charge of Kufah and I am departing towards it tomorrow. I am placing 'Uthman bin Ziyad bin Abi Sufyan as my deputy. Beware of opposition and spreading rumours. By Him beside who there is no deity! If I am informed of any opposition from anyone of you, then I shall certainly kill him, and the one who knows him, and his near ones. Verily, I will punish severely for even the slightest act of disobedience until you totally submit to

me and there remains among you no opponent or opposer! I am the son of Ziyad; I resemble him [more] than anyone else on this earth; I have not been taken away by ".similarity to [my] maternal uncle or [my] cousin

Ibn Ziyad Enters Kufah

Ibn Ziyad then left Basrah for Kufah together with Muslim bin 'Amru al-Bahili(٢), Sharik bin al-A'war al-Harithi(٣), his attendants and his family members who were around ten men(۴). He entered Kufah with a black turban on his head, while he had covered his face. The people [of Kufah] had heard that al-Husayn (as) had set out towards .them, so they were waiting for his arrival

When Ibn Ziyad arrived [in the city], they thought that he was al-Husayn (as). He did not pass a group of people without them greeting him by saying: "Welcome to you, O

١- This is how al-Tabari has reported. This statement was actually a call of a man from the tribe of Qarrah. This particular tribe was known for its proficiency in shooting during the days of Ignorance (jahiliyyah). So a member of this tribe happened to meet a person from another tribe and told him: "If you wish I can fight with you; and if you like I can race with you; and if you want I am ready to compete with you in shooting." The other person replied: "I have chosen shooting." Here the member of the tribe of Qarrah recited the following couplets: "Indeed the tribe of Qarrah fairly treated the one who shot at them; Verily if we were to meet any group, we shall send back its first one to its last." He then shot at him an arrow piercing his heart. Now, by repeating a part of these couplets, perhaps Ibn Ziyad meant to say that whoever chooses to shoot at the Banu Umayyah, then he is like the one who chose shooting with the member of the tribe of Qarrah; for the Banu Umayyah are as much proficient in .shooting as the tribe of Qarrah

٢- .We have already given his biography earlier

٣- Al-Tabari: He was oppointed over Istakhr Faris where he built a mosque in the year ٣١ H (۴:٣٠١). He participated in the battle of Siffin with 'Ali (as) (۵:٣۶١). In the year ٣٨ H,

‘Ali (as) sent him together with Jariyah bin Qudamah al-Sa’di at the head of a group of men from the Banu Tamim to Basrah to fight Ibn al-Hadhrami and those with him who had responded to his call to Mu’awiyah (٥:١١٢). ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amir had also sent Sharik to Basrah along with ٣,٠٠٠ riders from the tribe of Rabi’ah to fight Mustawrad bin ‘Allafah, the Khariji (٥:١٩٣). He also ruled over Kerman for ‘Abdullah bin Ziyad in ٥٩ H (٥:٣٢١). He lived for a few days after reaching Kufah and then died. Ibn Ziyad led his .(funeral prayer (٥:٣٦۴

Al-Tabari (٥:٣٥٩) narrates on the authority of ‘Isa bin Yazid al-Kanani who said: - ۴ “When Yazid’s letter reached ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad, he selected ٥٠٠ men from the people of Basrah among whom were ‘Abdullah bin al-Harith al-Naufal and Sharik bin .al-A’war

son of the Messenger of Allah! Your arrival is a happy [event].” He saw in their welcoming of al-Husayn (as) something which [greatly] troubled him. He was so angry at what he heard from them that he said: “I wish I could see them in other than this state!” When their number increased, Muslim bin ‘Amru [al-Bahili] called out: “Move ”.back! This is the governor, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad

When he entered the palace and the people came to know that he was ‘Ubaidullah bin (Ziyad, they became very sad and grief stricken!(١

Ibn Ziyad’s Address Upon His Arrival in Kufah

After he entered the palace, a caller shouted [in the morning of the following day]: “al-salah jami’atan [the prayer is a general prayer which all should gather for].” The :people gathered and he went out to them. He praised and glorified Allah and said

The commander of the faithful [i.e. Yazid] –May Allah correct him- has appointed me“ over your city and frontier-station. He has ordered me to give justice to the oppressed among you, help the weak, treat the obedient among you with generosity and to be harsh with the disobedient and suspicious among you. I will follow his order with regard to you and execute his command on you. To the good and submissive among you, I will be like a kind father. But my sword and whip shall be for him who disobeys my orders and opposes my commands. So let each man protect himself!

'True belief (sidq) should declare itself on your behalf, not the threat of

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١- Al-Tabari (٥:٣٥٧): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair related to me from 'Uthman al-Hindi who said..." This has also been narrated in al-Irshad (pg. ٢٠۶) and al-Maqtal (pg. ٢٠٠) of al-Khwarazmi.

punishment (wa'id).'"

Then, he descended from the pulpit and took the group leaders ('urafa') and the people harshly, and said:

"Write to me the strangers (ghuraba') and those among you who are the seekers of the commander of the faithful [i.e. Yazid], and those among you are the [members of the] Haruriyyah(١), and the suspicious ones who [only] think of discord and turmoil. Whoever writes to us in this regard will be free [from harm].

But he who does not write to us anyone, will have to guarantee that there is no opponent in his group ('arafah)(٢) who will oppose us, and no wrongdoer who will try to wrong us. Anyone who does not do so shall be denied protection and his blood and his property will be permitted to us. Any head of 'arafah in whose group is found an opponent of the commander of the faithful whom he has not reported to us, will be crucified at the door of his house. I will abolish the pay ('ata') of that group and they shall be expelled to a place in 'Umman al-Zarah."(٣),(۴)

Muslim Moves from the House of Mukhtar to that of Hani'

Muslim Moves from the House of Mukhtar to that of Hani'(۵)

Muslim learnt about the arrival of 'Ubaidullah, about the speech he had made and his treatment of the 'urafa' and the people. So he left the house of Mukhtar -where he was now known to be residing- until he reached the house of Hani' bin 'Urwah al-Muradi. He entered the door and asked him to come out. Hani' came

۱- The Khawarij. They are attributed to Harawra' -which is located in the suburbs of Kufah- because that was the first place that they had gathered in on their return from Siffin and before entering Kufah.

۲- Al-Tabari:'Arafah was a governmental post responsible for the identification of the citizens and to organize their stipends from the tresure house (bait al-mal). There were a hundred people who held this position ('irrif) in Kufah. The stipends used to be given to the heads of the four districts of the city, who would pass it to the 'urafa' (pl. of 'irrif), and the trustworthy people, who would then distribute it to the people within their areas (۴:۴۹) . They used to receive the order to distribute the stipends in the month of Muharram of every year, and their grants at the harvest time every year (۴:۴۳). The system of 'arafah used to exist even during the time of the Prophet (S) (۳:۴۴۸)).

۳- 'Umman al-Zarah is the present day Oman which is situated in the coast of the Persian Gulf. This place is extremely hot and difficult to live in, and that is why Ibn Ziyad was threatening to deport his opponents to this place.

۴- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۵۸): "Abu Mikhnaf says: "Mu'alla bin Kulaib has narrated to me from Abu Waddak who said..." Al-Irshad (pg.۲۰۲) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۰۰) have narrated this also.

۵- Al-Mas'udi writes: "He was the chief and leader of Murad. In those days he used to ride accompanied by ۴,۰۰۰ armored worriors and ۸,۰۰۰ foot soldiers. If their allies from the [Banu] Kindah and others were to respond to them, then Hani would ride amidst ۳۰,۰۰۰ armoured fighters" (See Muruj al-Dhahab:۳:۶۹). It is thus known from here why Muslim left Mukhtar's place and moved to the house of Hani, the chief (shaikh) of the clan. Nevertheless, events turned out to be as al-Mas'udi says: "But their leader could not find even a single supporter from among them due to their faint-heartedness and betrayal. Both Hani' and his father were among the companions [of the Prophet (S)]. He was killed while he was either eighty or ninty years of age as mentioned in al-Tabaqat of Ibn Sa'd. Al-Mubarrad says in al-Kamil that Hani's father was among those who rose with Hujr bin 'Adiyy, but Ziyad bin Abih interceded [with Mu'awiyah] on his behalf. This is why Ibn Ziyad had told Hani' –as it has appeared in al-Tabari: "O

Hani'! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Shi'ah except for your father and Hujr? And you well know what came to happen of Hujr. He [i.e. Ziyad] did not cease to show his kindness towards you to the extent that he even wrote to the governor of Kufah [saying]: 'My request from you is that you should take care of Hani'. Hani' answered: 'Yes.' Ibn Ziyad then said: 'Is this my recompense that .(you have hidden in your house a man that he may kill me!'" (۵:۳۶۱

out and disliked his presence when he saw him. Muslim said to him: "I have come to ".you so that you may give me refuge and take me in as a guest

Hani' replied: "May Allah have mercy on you! Indeed, you are excessive in your demands of me! Had it not been that you have already entered my house and that you are a reliable man, I would have preferred –and asked- you to leave. However, I am now obliged to protect you. Someone like me cannot refuse you shelter out of .ignorance. [So] enter." Thus, he sheltered him

The Shi'ah began to visit Muslim in the house of Hani' bin 'Urwah.(۱) After Muslim moved to the house of Hani' bin 'Urwah and eighteen thousand people paid allegiance :[to him, he sent a letter to al-Husayn (as) with 'Abis bin Abi Shabib al-Shakiri(۲) [saying

Verily, a scout never lies to his people. Eighteen thousand from among the people" Kufah have paid allegiance to me, so hasten to us as my letter reaches you; for the people are all with you. They have no liking or inclination to the family of Mu'awiyah. ".That is all

(The letter was dispatched twenty-seven nights before he was killed.(۳

Ma'qil al-Shami spies on Muslim

Ibn Ziyad summoned his servant called Ma'qil(۴) and told him: "Take three thousand dirhams with you and search for Muslim bin 'Aqil and his followers, and give them this money. Tell them: 'Use it in the war against your enemy', and let them know that you .are one of them

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۶۱): [I narrate] from Abu Mikhnaf, who reported from Mu'alla bin - ۱
"...Kulaib, who related from Abu al-Waddak that

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۷۵): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Ja'far bin Hudhaifah al-Tai narrated to me - ۲
"...that

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۹۵): "Abu Mikhnaf reports [that]: 'Muhammad bin Qais narrated to me -۳
"...[[saying

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۶۰) relates on the authority of 'Isa bin Yazid al-Kanani that Muslim bin -۴ 'Aqil arrived in Kufah a night before Ibn Ziyad. The latter was informed about Muslim's arrival while he was in the suburbs of Kufah. So he summoned a slave from the Banu Tamim and gave him some money and told him: "Take up this matter and help them ".with this money. Proceed to Hani' and Muslim, and make him stay at Hani's place

For if you give it to them, they will have confidence in you, trust you and they will not ".conceal any of their information from you. Thereafter, visit them frequently

Ma'qil] thus came to Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asadi(۱) at the great mosque and saw] him praying. He had heard the people saying that Ibn 'Awsajah was accepting people's allegiance for al-Husayn (as). So he waited until he finished his prayers. He then said [to him]: "O servant of Allah, I am from Sham and a servant of Dhu al-Kala'. Allah has blessed me with love for the people of this House [i.e. the family of the Prophet (S)] and love for those who love them. These are three thousand dirhams with which I want to meet a man from them who I have learnt has come to Kufah to receive pledges of allegiance on behalf of the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (S). I have been wanting to meet him but I have not found anyone who will direct me to him, as his place [of stay] is unknown. I was just now sitting in the mosque and I heard a number of Muslims saying that this is a person who knows the people of this House. Therefore, I have come to you so that you may take this money from me and introduce me to your colleague (sahib) so that I may pledge my allegiance to him. If you wish, you may receive my pledge of

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۳۶): Shabath bin Rib'i said in reply to those of his companions around - ۱

him who had gathered to kill Muslim bin 'Awsajah: "May your mothers mourn you! You are killing yourselves with your own hands and abasing yourselves to the benefit of others. You are happy that someone like Muslim bin 'Awsajah has been killed?! I swear by the one to whom I have submitted! How often I have seen him amidst the Muslims doing a noble deed! I have seen him on the highlands of Adharbaijan killing six idolaters before [even] the cavalry of the Muslims took its position. Should you be rejoicing when such a man has been killed from among you?!"

allegiance to him before I meet him."

Muslim bin 'Awsajah] replied [him]: "I thank Allah that you met me. I am glad that you] are going to attain what you wish, and that Allah will help the house of His prophet through you. Yet your knowledge of my connection with this affair before it is finished troubles me, due to [my] fear of this tyrant and his severity."

Then he received his allegiance before he departed and took a binding oath from him that he would be sincere and keep the matter concealed. He [in return] gave him whatever would make him satisfied about this. Then [Muslim] told him: "Visit me at my house for some days; for I will seek permission for you [to visit] your master."

Thereafter, he sought permission for him [from Ibn 'Aqil] and [Ma'qil] started visiting [Muslim] with other people.(١)

The Meeting for Planning the Assasination of Ibn Ziyad

Hani' bin 'Urwah fell sick and 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad came to see him. 'Umarah bin 'Ubaid al-Saluli(٢) said to Hani': "[The purpose of] our gathering and plotting is to kill this tyrant. [At present] Allah has given you the upper hand over him, so kill him."

Hani' replied: "I do not like him to be killed in my house." [Ibn Ziyad paid him a visit and] left.

After only a week Sharik bin al-A'war [al-Harithi] got sick. Although Sharik was very kind towards Ibn Ziyad and other heads of state, he was a staunch Shi'ah. Ibn Ziyad sent him a messenger to inform him that he was coming to visit him

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Al-Tabari (۵:۳۶۱): "[I narrate] from Abu Mikhnaf who related from Mu'alla bin Kulaib, -۱ who reported from Abu al-Sawwak that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۰۷) and Tadhkirat .(al-Khawass (pg.۲۰۱

Al-Tabari: Al-Saluli was among the messengers of the people of Kufah –with ۵۳ -۲ letters- to al-Husayn (as) while [the latter] was in Makkah. The Imam (as) then sent him to Kufah together with Muslim bin 'Aqil, Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi and 'Abd al- .(Rahman al-Arhabi (۵:۳۴۳-۳۴۴

in the evening. At this [Sharik] told Muslim: "This sinner is going to visit me tonight, so kill him after he takes his seat. Then sit in the palace and there will be no obstacle between you and it. If I get well from my illness in the coming days, [then] I will ".proceed towards Basrah and save you of its troubles

At evening 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] set out to see Sharik [al-Harithi]. Muslim bin 'Aqil got up to enter [the room] when Sharik said to him: "You must not miss him when he takes his seat." [Here] Hani' bin 'Urwah stood up and said –as if he detested it: "I do not want ".him to be killed in my house

Thereafter, Ibn Ziyad arrived and entered [the house] and took his seat. He inquired from Sharik about his illness and said: "How do you feel?" His queries took long. [When Sharik] saw that [Muslim] is not coming out, he feared that he would miss him and so he began [reciting the following verse]: "What are you waiting for to greet Salma?! .Make me drink it even if it were to take my life!" He repeated this twice or three times

"?Ibn Ziyad said: "What is the matter with him? Is he exhausted by the fits of delirium

Hani' replied: "Yes –May Allah make you among the righteous. This has been his .behaviour from the early morning uptil now." Ibn Ziyad then stood up and left

Muslim came out [after Ibn Ziyad went], so Sharik

"?asked him: "What prevented you from killing him

Muslim answered: "Two things. The first was Hani's dislike for him to be killed in his house. The other was the tradition (hadith) that people have related from the Prophet (S): 'Indeed iman prevents assassination, and a believer never commits ".assassination

On hearing this] Hani' said: "By Allah! Had you killed him, you would have had certainly] killed a corrupt (fasiq), sinful (fajir), unbelieving (kafir) and a treacherous (ghadir) (person! But I detested him to be killed in my house!"(١

Ma'qil Visits Muslim

Ma'qil used to regularly visit Muslim bin 'Awsajah for some days so that he may arrange for him to meet Ibn 'Aqil, until [one day] he took him to [Muslim]. Ma'qil informed him of his condition and [Muslim] received his allegiance and ordered Abu Thumamah al-Saidi(٢) to collect the money that Ma'qil had brought with him. Thereafter, Ma'qil would consistently visit them. He would be the first [to enter] and the last to leave. He would hear all their news and take note of all their secrets and he (would then go and inform Ibn Ziyad of that.(٣

'Ibn Ziyad Inquires About Hani

Ibn Ziyad said to his courtiers: "How is it that I do not see Hani'?" They replied: "He is ,(ill." 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] then summoned Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath(٤

Asma' bin Kharijah(٥) and 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj(٦) -whose sister Raw'ah was Hani's "?wife- and told them: "What prevents Hani bin 'Urwah from visiting us

They said: "May Allah make you among the righteous! We do not know, but he is ".(complaining (la-yatashakka)(٧

So

Al-Tabari (٥:٣٦١): “[I narrate] from Abu Mikhnaf who was relating from Mu’alla bin -١
”...Kulaib, who reported from Abu al-Waddak that

Al-Tabari: He used to collect their funds and all that by which they used to help one -٢
another. He used to buy them weapons and was proficient in this matter. He was among the brave warriors of the Arabs and a distinguished personality among the Shi‘ah (٥:٣٦٤). Muslim had given him the banner [and he was leading] the quarter of [the Banu] Tamim and Hamdan (٥:٣٦٩). He was present in Karbala’ and was the gate-keeper of al-Husayn (as) (٥:٤١٠). He was the one who asked al-Husayn (as) to lead them in their prayers on the noon of Ashura’, and the Imam (as) prayed for him saying: “You have remembered the prayers (salat); may Allah make you among those who establish prayers (musallin) and remember him (dhakirin)” (٥:٤٣٩). His cousin – who was in the army of ‘Umar bin Sa’d- had engaged him in a duel -before the time of
.(prayers [on that day]- and was killed by Abu Thumamah (٥:٤٤١

Al-Tabari (٥:٣٦١): [I narrate] from Abu Mikhnaf who was relating from Mu’alla bin -٣
.(Kulaib, who reported from Abu al-Waddak that...” See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٠٨

Al-Tabari: Muhammad bin Ash’ath bin Qais al-Kindi. He is the one whom Ziyad had -٤
asked to surrender Hujr to him. Hujr requested al-Ash’ath to seek protection (aman) for him from Ibn Ziyad so that he could go to Mu’awiyah who would have the final word on him, and Ziyad accepted the request (٥:٢٦٣-٢٦٤). ‘Ubaidah al-Kindi has some verses in which he reproaches Muhammad bin al-Ash’ath for his betraying Hujr and fighting Muslim (as). [He says]: “You surrendered your uncle and did not fight for him out of cowardice; if it was not because of your action, he would not have been caught. You killed the envoy of the household of Muhammad, and plundered his sword and armor plate” (٥:٢٨٥). Ibn al-Ash’ath had raised the banner of protection for those among the [men of] Kindah and Hadhramaut who obeyed him, encouraging them to abandon Ibn ‘Aqil (٥:٣٦٩). However, in order to fight Ibn ‘Aqil, he had also sent some men from [the clan of] Qais together with his men; since every tribe disliked Ibn ‘Aqil to be killed by its kinsmen (٥:٣٧٣). Ibn al-Ash’ath granted protection to Ibn ‘Aqil also (٥:٣٧٤) and informed Ibn Ziyad of that, but he did not approve it (٥:٣٧٥). He also interceded for Hani bin ‘Urwah but was rejected by Ibn Ziyad (٥:٣٧٨). The clan of Kindah was carrying out the orders of ‘Umar bin Sa’d as they were his maternal kin. So when Yazid bin Mu’awiyah died and Ibn Ziyad invited them towards himself, they

rejected him and instead appointed ‘Umar bin Sa’d as their head. However, when the men of Hamdan took up swords and their women lamented al-Husayn (as), Ibn Ash’ath backed down and said: “A new situation has arised” (۵:۵۲۵). Subsequently, the [people of] Hamdan wrote to Ibn al-Zubair in Makkah, and the latter sent Muhammad bin Ash’ath bin Qais to Mosul. When ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Sa’id bin Qais arrived in Mosul as its governer under Mukhtar, Ibn Ash`ath withdrew from it in his favour. Al-Ash’ath then went to Tikrit and stayed there with some of the noble men of his kinsmen and others, observing the stand of the people. [Ultimately,] he set out to Mukhtar and paid allegiance to him (۶:۳۶). When Ibn Ziyad proceeded towards Mosul with the army of Sham and the followers of Mukhtar came out to fight him, the outstanding men of Kufah -among them being Muhammad bin Ash’ath- came together and spread calumnies against Mukhtar. Al-Ash’ath’s son, Ishaq, came out amidst the Jabanah of Kindah and they attacked Mukhtar, pouncing on him (۶:۳۹-۴۵) and [they] got broken. Thus, Muhammad bin Ash’ath withdrew to his village near al-Qadisiyyah where Mukhtar sent ۱۰۰ warriors from among his slaves and others to chase him up. But Muhammad managed to escape and joined Mus’ab bin al-Zubair and instead his house was demolished (۶:۶۶). Mus’ab then sent Ibn al-Ash’ath with a letter to Muhallab bin Abi Sufrah with whom he [once again] came for the battle against Mukhtar (۶:۹۴). Mus’ab also dispatched Ibn Ash’ath with a huge group of riders from Kufah who had been expelled by Mukhtar and, therefore, were more hostile towards him than the people of Basrah such that they would not see a prisoner from a defeated army except that they would kill him (۶:۹۷). Ibn Ash’ath was killed in the battle between Mus’ab and Mukhtar, so Mus’ab sent his son ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Ash’ath to the suburbs (kinasah) of Kufah (۶:۱۰۴).

۵ - Al-Tabari: Asma’ bin Kharijah al-Fazari. He was one of those who wrote his testimony against Hujr bin ‘Adiyy al-Kindi (۵:۲۰۷). He was [also] the one to remind Hajjaj of Kumail bin Ziyad al-Nakha’i and ‘Umar bin Dabi’ as those who rebelled against ‘Uthman and so he killed them (۴:۴۰۴). Al-Fazari protested against Ibn Ziyad for beating and imprisoning Hani’ bin ‘Urwah and was consequently imprisoned by Ibn Ziyad (۵:۳۶۷). He later came to be among the companions of Ibn Muti’ al-‘Adawi (۶:۳۱) and in ۶۸ H was among the followers of Mus’ab bin al-Zubair (۶:۱۲۴).

۶ - We have mentioned him earlier among those who had written to al-Husayn (as)

.from the people of Kufah

.'Yatashakka means 'he is complaining (yashtaki) of his illness -٧

Ibn Ziyad said: "I have heard that he has recovered and is [usually] seen sitting at the door of his house. Go to see him and enjoin him not to abandon his duty towards us; (for I do not like an Arab nobleman like him to spoil [his reputation] with me."(١

Hani' Summoned to Ibn Ziyad

They came to him in the evening while he was sitting at the door of his house. They asked him: "What prevents you from meeting the governor? He has mentioned you "'.and and said that: 'If I knew that he is ill, I would pay him a sick-visit

".Hani' replied: "[My] illness stops me

So they said to him: "He has heard that you sit at the door of your house every evening. He finds you tardy; and tardiness and churlish behaviour are things which ".the authorities will not tolerate. We adjure you to ride with us

So Hani' called for his clothes and got dressed. Then he called for his mule and mounted it. [They rode] until when he got near the palace, he began to feel some apprehension. He said to Hassan bin Kharijah: "O my nephew! By Allah, I am afraid of this man! What do you think?" He answered: "O my uncle! By Allah, I do not fear "?anything for you. Why are you becoming suspicious while you are innocent

So they entered onto Ibn Ziyad and so did Hani'. When he appeared [before Ibn Ziyad, ['he] said [to himself]: "The fool's legs have brought him to you."(٢) When [Hani

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Al-Tabari (٥:٣٦١٣٦٤): "[I narrate] from Abu Mikhnaf who was reporting from Mu'alla -١ bin Kulaib, who narrated from Abu al-Waddak; and [also] from Mujalid bin Sa'id, Hasan bin 'Uqbah al-Muradi and Numair bin Wa'lah who reported from Abu al-.(Waddak." See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٠٨

Al-hain means 'a fool'. This is an idiom [in Arabic] that is [usually] said in such a -٢

situation. Those who have recorded al-ha’in as al-kha’in are mistaken. See al-Fakhir .((pg.٢٥١

came closer to Ibn Ziyad, while Shuraih al-Qadhi was present too(١), he turned :towards [Hani’] and recited

.I want to give him present (hiba’ahu), but he wants to kill me

The one who makes excuses to you is one of your own friends from the [Banu] (Murad.”(٢

Hani’ in the Presence of Ibn Ziyad

”?Hani’ said to Ibn Ziyad: “What is that, O governor

Ibn Ziyad replied: “Yes, O Hani’ bin ‘Urwah! What are these matters going on in your house against the commander of the faithful and the Muslim community? You have brought Muslim bin ‘Aqil and taken him to your house. You have gathered arms and ”!men for him in houses around you. You thought that was hidden from me

”.Hani’] said: “I have not done that and Muslim is not with me]

”!Ibn Ziyad] said: “Oh yes, you have done that]

”.Hani’] said: “I have not]

”.Ibn Ziyad] said: “Indeed, you have]

When the argument between them had gone on for some time and Hani’ persisted in rejecting and denying [his claim], Ibn Ziyad summoned Ma’qil, that spy. He came and ”?stood before him. Then Ibn Ziyad asked [him]: “Do you know this man

”.Ma’qil replied: “Yes

Here Hani’ realized that he was a spy against them and that he has given all the information to him. So [Hani’] said to [Ibn Ziyad]: “Listen to me and believe me; for by Allah, I will not lie to you. I swear by Allah beside whom there is no deity, I did not

summon him to my house. I did not know anything about his affair until

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Al-Tabari: Shuraih bin Harith al-Kindi. 'Umar had apponted him as the judge of - ۱ Kufah in ۱۸ H (۴:۱۰۱). He was among those who urged the people of Kufah to help 'Uthman (۴:۳۵۲). He appears in the list of those who bore witness against Hujr bin 'Adiyy as Shuraih bin al-Harith al-Qadhi. However, he [himself] used to say: "Ziyad inquired from me about him, so I informed him that he is [a man who] exceedingly establishes prayers (qawwam) and fasts a lot (sawwam)" (۵:۲۷۰). Ziyad had once sought his advice on amputating his leprous hand, so Shuraih suggested him not to do so and was reprimanded [by Ibn Ziyad's companions]. He said [in reply]: "The Messenger of Allah [s] has said: 'A person from whom advice is sought (mustashar) must be trusted' (۵:۲۸۹). Ibn al-Zubair wanted him to serve as his judge in Kufah, but he refused (۵:۵۸۲). This was before he accepted the position for Mukhtar. But when he heard that the followers of Mukhtar were saying that he was a partisan of 'Uthman, and that he testified against Hujr bin 'Adiyy, and that 'Ali bin Abi Talib had dismissed him from the judicial position, and that he did not convey the message that Hani' had sent him with [when Ibn Ziyad had imprisoned him, and Hani's kinsmen stormed the palace and Shuraih went to see them]; he pretended to be ill. Consequently, Mukhtar replaced him with 'Abdullah bin 'Utbah bin Mas'ud and later with 'Abdullah bin Malik al-Ta'i (۶:۳۴). After Mukhtar, Shuraih accepted the position from Ibn al-Zubair (۶:۱۴۹). He requested Hajjaj to be relieved from this position and suggested to him Abu Burdah bin 'Abi Musa al-Ash'ari in the year ۷۹ H. Hajjaj accepted his resignation and [instead] appointed Abu Burdah (۶:۳۲۴). Therefore, he held the judicial position for !about ۶۰ years altogether

This verse is that of 'Amru bin Ma'd Yakrub al-Zubaidi. Al-hiba' comes from habwah -۲ which means 'a gift' ('ata'). Hiba'ahu [in the first verse] has appeared in al-Kamil and al-Irshad (pg.۲۰۸) as hayatahu [i.e. his life], but this is a [case of] phonetic distortion .(tahrif) of the word

I saw him sitting at my door, asking to stay with me. I was ashamed to refuse him and

the duty of giving him protection fell upon me. Therefore, I received him in my house and gave him lodging and refuge. Then his affair developed as you have been informed. If you wish, I will give you strongly sworn testaments and that which will make you satisfied that I will not do you any harm. If you wish, I will give you a guarantee which will be in your hand until I return to you. Then I will go to him and order him to leave my house for wherever in the land he wants to go. Thus, I would ”.come out of my duty to protect him and to give him refuge

”!Ibn Ziyad] said: “Never by Allah. You will not leave me unless you bring him to me[

Hani’] said: “By Allah, I will never bring him to you! Should I bring my guest to you in[”!?order for you to kill him

”?Ibn Ziyad] said: “By Allah! You have to bring him to me[

”!Hani’] said: “By Allah! I shall never bring him[

After their argument went on for some time, Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bahili stood up and said: “May Allah make the governor among the righteous! Allow me to talk to him.” He then said to Hani’: ‘Come to me this way I want to talk to you.’ So Hani’ got up and moved with him to the side of Ibn

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Ziyad. They were [standing] where he could see them, such that if they raised their voices he could hear what they were saying, and if they lowered their voices he could .not

Muslim [bin ‘Amru al-Bahili] then said to him: “O Hani’! I adjure you before Allah not to kill yourself and bring tribulation on your people and kinsmen! By Allah! I hold you too precious to be killed. This man [i.e. Muslim bin Aqil] is the cousin of these people [i.e. the Banu Umayyah]; they will not kill him nor harm him. So hand him over to him. There will be no shame and failure for you by that, for you would only be handing him ”.over to the ruler

Hani’ replied: “Indeed, by Allah, there will be shame and disgrace for me in doing that. Were I to hand over one who has come under my protection and is my guest, while I am still alive and sound, I can hear and see well, and have a strong arm and many supporters! By Allah! If I was the only one without any helper, I would not hand him over to him until I had died on his behalf.”

Hani’ said this [to him] thinking that his kinsmen would come to his help. So as [al-Bahili] was imploring him [to submit Muslim], he went on saying: “Nay by Allah. I will never hand him over!”

Ibn Ziyad heard that, so he said: “Bring him closer to me.” So they brought him closer. He

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then said: “By Allah, either bring him to me, or I will have your head cutt off!”

“[If you do so] then there will be much flashing [of swords] around your house”(١), replied Hani’, thinking that his tribesmen were listening him.

[Ibn Ziyad] said: “What a pity! Do you frighten me with the flashing [of swords]? [Bring him nearer to me.” Thus, he was brought [nearer]. He then began hitting his face with a staff and continued striking his nose, forehead and cheeks to the extent that he broke his nose and blood flowed on his clothes, and the flesh of his cheek and forehead was sprinkled over his beard. [He hit him] till the cane broke.

[At this] Hani’ stretched out his hand towards the hilt of the sword of one of the armed] attendants but the guard pulled it away and prevented him.

Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] said: “Have you become a Haruri today?(٢) You have made your ‘blood permissible [to us] and it is now lawful for us to kill you. Throw him into one of the rooms of this building and lock him up and keep a guard over him.” Accordingly, all that was done to him.

Asma’ bin Kharijah stood up and said [to Ibn Ziyad]: “Have we become the

messengers of treachery today? You ordered us to bring this man, but when we brought him, you [started] smashing his face till blood ran over his beard and you thought of killing him!"

Ubaidullah replied him: "You will be for it here'

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١- Tabari (٥:٣٦١) narrates from 'Isa bin Yazid al-Kanani that Ibn Ziyad said to him [at this point]: "O Hani! Do not you know that my father had come to this city and killed all the Shi'ah except for your father and Hujr? And you well know what came to happen of Hujr. He [i.e. Ziyad] did not cease to show his kindness towards you and [even] wrote to the governor of Kufah [saying]: 'My request from you is [that you should take care of] Hani'.' Hani replied: 'Yes.' Ibn Ziyad then said: 'Is this my recompense that you have hidden in your house a man who should kill me!' Hani' said: '[No] I have not done that.' [Here] Ibn Ziyad called forth his slave, al-Tamimi, who had been spying against them. So when Hani' saw him, he realized that the man has given him all the information. So he said: 'O governor! What you have heard is true. However, I shall never be ungrateful with respect to your favours. You and your people are in safety, so move [freely] to wherever you like.' Mahran, Ibn Ziyad's servant, was the guard standing behind him with a club in his hand. He said [to 'Ubaidullah]: 'What a humiliation! This deceiving slave is giving you protection in your [own] kingdom?' Then he threw Ibn Ziyad his club saying: 'Take it'. He grabbed Hani' by his braids while Ibn Ziyad began striking at his face with the club until he broke his nose and brow, and pushed him so violently that he crashed against the wall."

٢- That is, a Khariji. They are attributed to Harawra' which is located in the suburbs of Kufah; since this was the first place they had gathered in against 'Ali (as).

and now]!" He then ordered his men to take him, so he was beaten (luhiza) and] harshly taken away (tu'ta'a bihi).(١) He was then imprisoned.

As for Muhammad bin Ash'ath, he remarked: "We give consent to the governor's decision, be it in our favour or against us. Indeed, the governor is taking [only]

:disciplinary action (mu'addib).(۲) Then he went near Ibn Ziyad and said to him

Verily, you know the position of Hani' bin 'Urwah in the city and among his clansmen.“ His people are aware that my companion and I have brought him to you. So I adjure you -by Allah- to hand him over to me; for I dislike the enemity of his kinsmen, as they are the most powerful people in the city and they comprise a good number of the (people of Yemen in the city.(۳

(Ibn Ziyad promised him to do so.(۴

Meanwhile] 'Amru bin Hajjaj heard that Hani' has been killed. So he set out with a] large number of people from the Madhhij and surrounded the palace. Then he called out: "I am 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj, and these are the knights of Madhhij and their leading men. [They] have not broken away from obedience, nor [have they] separated from the community! [But] they have been informed that their companion has been killed ".and so they regarded it as a great crime

Ubaidullah was informed that Madhhij were at the gate. So he said to Shuraih al-' Qadhi: "Go and see their companion [i.e. Hani'], then inform them that he

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Al-lahz means beating at the meeting point of the clothes, from above the chest to -۱ .the neck. Al-ta'ta'ah means a violent movement

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۶۷): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Ghayr bin Wa'lah informed me on the - ۲ "...authority of Abu al-Waddak that

This is because Kindah was among the tribes of Yemen in Kufah, while Murad and -۳ .Madhhij were among the clans of Kindah

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۷۸): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair related to me on the - ۴ authority of 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifah that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۱۰) and al-Maqtal .(pg.۲۰۵) of al-Khwarazmi

(is alive and has not been killed, and that you have seen him."(۱

Shuraih] says: "I went to see Hani', and when he saw me he said: 'O Allah and O the] Muslims! Has my clan been destroyed! Where are the people (ahl) of religion! Where are the people of the city! They have gone and have left me alone with their enemy and the son of their enemy! -He said this with blood flowing down his beard. Just then [Hani'] heard the tumult at the gate of the palace. So I [i.e. Shuraih] came out and he followed me saying: 'O Shuraih! I think these are the voices of Madhhij and my followers among the Muslims! If [only] ten of them reached me, they would rescue ".me

Shuraih says: "I came out to them with Hamid bin Bukair al-Ahmari(٢) -who accompanied me on the order of Ibn Ziyad and was among his bodyguards. When I came out to them I said: "When the governor was informed about your stance and demand concerning your companion, he ordered me to go and see him, so I went to see him. He then asked me to inform you that he is [still] alive and that the report that ".he had been killed is false

On hearing this,] 'Amru [bin al-Hajjaj] and his companions said: "Praise be to Allah] (since he has not been killed." Then they went away.(٣

Ibn Ziyad's Speech After Hani's Arrest

Ubaidullah feared that people might rise against him. So he went out [to the mosque]' accompanied by the

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Al-Tabari (٥:٣۶٧): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Numair bin Wa'lah informed me on the - ١ authority of Abu al-Waddak that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.٢١٠) and al-Maqtal (pg.٢٠۵) .of al-Khwarazmi

Al-Tabari: He was with Ziyad and used to spy on his officers. Ziyad had also sent - ٢ him with a group of other people from among his companions to pursue the companions of Hujr bin 'Adiyy. He was the one to strike Ibn 'Aqil on his upper lip and .[later] killed him (۵:٣٧٣٧٨). Ahmari was a slave from Sham

Al-Tabari (٣:٣۶٧): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from 'Abd al- -٣

"...Rahman bin Shuraih who said: 'I heard him telling Isma'il bin Talhah that

noblemen [of the city], his bodyguards and slaves. He went on the pulpit, praised and glorified Allah, and then he said:

"O people! Hold fast onto the obedience of Allah and the obedience of your leaders. Do not differ or become divided, for you will be destroyed, humiliated, killed or harshly treated and deprived! Your brother is [only] he who speaks the truth to you! Indeed, he who warns [from the outset] is excused."(١)

The Rise of Muslim

Muslim bin 'Aqil sent 'Abdullah bin Khazim as his messenger to the palace to follow up the issue of Hani'. He said: "When [Hani'] was beaten and imprisoned, I mounted my horse and I was the first of the members of the house to bring the information to Muslim bin 'Aqil. There the women of Murad had gathered crying out: 'O the kinsmen [of Hani']! O bereavement of him!' I went in to see Muslim bin 'Aqil and gave him the news of Hani'. So he ordered me to announce to his companions: 'O the helped one! Kill [your enemy]'!(٢) This was at a time when the houses around him were filled with [Muslim's] followers and eighteen thousand people had [already] paid allegiance to him, four thousand [of them] were present in the houses. So I called out: "Ya mansur amit!", and the people of Kufah called one another and [soon] they gathered around him.

Muslim (as) prepared a banner for 'Ubaidullah bin 'Amru bin 'Aziz al-Kindi to lead the quarter of Kindah and Rabi'ah and said: "Move ahead

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١- Al-Tabari (٥:٣٦٨): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Hajjaj bin 'Ali related to me from Muhammad bin Bishr al-Hamdani that..."

٢- 'Ya mansur, amit'. This was the slogan raised by the Muslims in the battle of Badr for gathering the warriors and passing information to them, and was also raised in other battles after that. [Editor]

of me with your horses." He then issued a banner to Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asadi to lead the quarter of Madhhij and Asad and said: 'Accompany the foot soldiers; you are their head." He then issued one to Abu Thumamah al-Saidi to lead the quarter of Tamim and Hamdan and the fourth to 'Abbas bin Ju'dah al-Judali (۱) as the leader of the quarter of the people of Madinah. Muslim [himself] was moving amidst the people .from [the] Murad

The Coming of the Noblemen to Ibn Ziyad

The noblemen started coming to Ibn Ziyad through the door which adjoined the building of the Romans.(۲) 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] summoned Kathir bin Shihab bin al-Husayn al-Harithi(۳) and ordered him to go out among those [men] of Madhhij who obeyed him and to go round Kufah and [try to] make the people desert Ibn 'Aqil, make them afraid of the [possibility of] war and threaten them with the punishment of the .authorities

He ordered Muhammad bin Ash'ath to go with those among the Kindah and Hadhramaut who were following him and to raise the banner of protection for those who joined him. Ibn Ziyad gave similar instructions to Qa'qa' bin Shaur al-Dhuhali(۴) , Shabath bin Rib'i al-Tamimi, Hajjar bin Abjar al-'Ijli and Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan :al-'Amiri.(۵),(۶) He gave Shabath bin Rib'i the banner and said to him

Go amidst the people and give [glad tidings] to the obedient of increase [in their" stipends] and kindness; and threaten the disobedient of deprivation and punishment, and inform them that the army of Sham has [already] advanced

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We find in the left wing of the army of Mukhtar -which he had sent to Madinah to -۱ fight Ibn al-Zubair- someone called 'Ayyash bin Ju'dah al-Judali. Al-Tabari: He, together with three hundred of his men, did not accept the safe-conduct from Ibn al-Zubair after they were defeated by his followers. When they were [finally] caught by them, they were killed except for about two hundred men, many of whom died on the

way (۶:۷۴). Now, since we do not find any mention of 'Abbas or 'Ayyash al-Judali in apart from this case, and also by taking into consideration the fact that he remained loyal to Mukhtar, it is very unlikely that they are two [different] persons. It is more probable that [the two names in fact indicate a] single person, either by the name of 'Abbas or 'Ayyash, who continued to live after Muslim bin 'Aqil and rose with Mukhtar .until he was either killed or died [somewhere] there

This indicates that the house of the Romans followed the back side of the Palace. -۲ Since they were ahl al-dhimmah [i.e. the non-Muslims living under the protection of the Islamic government], Ibn Ziyad used to disguise himself as one of them while moving in and out of the palace. It escaped the followers of Muslim to block this .passage

Al-Tabari: He is among those whose name appeared in the list of those who - ۳ testified against Hujr bin 'Adiyy (۵:۲۶۹). He took Hujr and his companions to Mu'awiyah (۵:۲۷۰). He is [also] the first person Ibn Ziyad issued a standard and the first to be made .(in charge of urging the people to desert Muslim (as) (۵:۳۷۰

Al-Tabari: He is one of those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified -۴ (against Hujr bin 'Adiyy (۵:۲۶۹) and also fought Muslim (as). (۵:۲۷۰-۳۸۱

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۶۸): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Yusuf bin Yazid narrated to me from 'Abdullah -۵ "...bin Khazim that

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۶۹): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Yunus bin Ishaq narrated to me from 'Abbas -۶ al-Judali that..." Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan was with 'Ali (as) at Siffin (۵:۲۸) and was among those whose name appeared in the list of those who testified against Hujr bin 'Adiyy (۵:۲۷۰). He was the one who incited Ibn Ziyad to kill al-Husayn (as) (۵:۴۱۴). He was present in Karbala' and invited the sons of Umm al-Banin, the brothers of 'Abbas, to accept the safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyad and to abandon the Imam (as) (۵:۴۱۵). Ibn Sa'd sought his advice with regard to giving al-Husayn (as) respite for the night before 'Ashura', but he did not respond (۵:۴۱۷). Shamir was in charge of the left flank of Ibn Sa'd's army (۵:۴۲۲). He responded to the speech of al-Husayn (as) with foul language and was rebuked by Ibn Mu¨ahir (۵:۴۲۵). He responded to Zuhair bin al-Qain's address by shooting an arrow at him and was reproached by him. (۵:۴۳۶). He attacked the left wing of al-Husayn's army with the left flank of Ibn Sa'd's army (۵:۴۳۶). Shamir was the one who pierced the tent of the Imam (as) with his spear and called for fire to burn

down the tents together with its inhabitants. So the women started screaming and walked out of their tents, upon which the Imam (as) cursed him (۵:۴۳۸). He was the one who killed Nafi' bin Hilal al-Jumali (۵:۴۴۲) and attempted to kill Imam al-Sajjad (as) but the people prevented him [from doing so] (۵:۴۵۴). He was [also] the one to bring the heads [of the martyrs] to Ibn Ziyad (۵:۴۵۶), and the heads, together with the captives, to Yazid (۵:۴۶۰-۴۶۳). He along with the [members of] Hawazin had twenty heads (۵:۴۶۸). Ibn Muti' sent Shamir as the head of the quarter of Salim in Kufah along with ۲,۰۰۰ fighters (۶:۲۹) to encounter Mukhtar (۶:۱۸). He had rose with the noblemen of Kufah to fight Mukhtar (۶:۴۴) and was [ultimately] defeated and fled Kufah (۶:۵۲). He was killed by 'Abd al-Rahman bin Abi al-Kanud in ۶۶ H (۶:۵۳). The word 'shamir' is a Hebrew word whose root is shamir meaning entertainer (samir). This word is prevalent today also .'as when it is said [for instance] 'Yitzhak Shamir

(towards them."(۱

The Noblemen Come Out With Banners of Protection

:Kathir bin Shihab addressed the people first saying

O people! Return to your families; do not hasten to evil and do not expose yourselves" to death. The army of the commander of the faithful, Yazid, are approaching. The governer has given Allah a promise that if you persist in fighting him and do not go away by nightfall, he will deprive your children of their [right to] state allotment of money ('ata') and he will scatter your soldiers in Syrian campaigns without any greed.(۲) He will hold the healthy among you responsible for the sick and those present responsible for those who are absent until none of those rebellious people will ".remain who has not tasted the evil consequences of what their hands have earned

The noblemen also talked in similar vein. When the people heard what they said, they began dispersing.(۳) [Such that] women would come to their sons and brothers saying: "Go, the people will be enough [without] you." Men were going to their sons and brothers and saying: "Tomorrow, the [army] of Sham will come against you, so what (are you going to do with the war and the evil? Go away!" Thus he would be taken.(۴

Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath went out till he stopped at the houses of the Banu 'Umarah. 'Umarah bin Salkhab al-Azdi came to him while he was armed and intending to go to Ibn 'Aqil, but [Muhammad] arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziyad where he .was imprisoned

Thereafter,] Muslim bin 'Aqil sent 'Abd]

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"...Al-Tabari (۵:۳۶۹): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Abu al-Janab al-Kalbi narrated to me that -۱
That is, they will not have any share from the war booty that the Muslims shall -۲ [.attain from their battles against the Romans. [Editor
Al-Tabari (۵:۳۷۰): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid informed me on the -۳ "...authority of 'Abdullah bin Khazim al-Kathiri -from the tribe of Azd- that
"...Al-Tabari (۵:۳۷۱): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Mujalid bin Sa'id related to me that -۴

al-Rahman bin Shuraih al-Shabami(۱) from the mosque [together with a large number .[of people] to fight [Ibn al-Ash'ath

Qa'qa' bin Shaur al-Dhuhali attacked Muslim and his companions from a place in] Kufah known as al-'Irar(۲)] and sent [someone] to inform Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath ([that]: "I have attacked Ibn 'Aqil from 'Irar and he has retreated from his position."(۳

Shabath bin Rib'i [also] fought them saying: "Wait till the night falls and they will all] disperse". Qa'qa' bin Shaur said to him: "You have obstructed the way for the people; (open it for them and they shall [all] leave"].(۴

The Loneliness of Muslim

Abbas al-Jadali says: "We came out with Ibn 'Aqil while we were four thousand [men altogether], and before we [even] reached the palace our number fell to three hundred.(۵) The people continued dispersing and scattering until the evening when Ibn 'Aqil was left with only thrity men in the mosque. Thus, there were only thirty .people who prayed with Ibn 'Aqil

When he saw this, he came out heading for the gates of Kindah. He reached the gates with only ten of them [left] with him. Then he left the gate with no one beside him. He looked around but could see no one to guide him along the road, to show him to his .house or assist him if an enemy appeared before him

He wandered amid the lanes of Kufah without knowing where he was going until he came to the houses of the Banu Jabalah of Kindah. He went on until he came to

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١- Al-Tabari (۵:٣۶٩): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Abu Hab al-Kalbi narrated to me that..."

٢- Al-Tabari: This part has been mentioned by Harun bin Muslim from 'Ali bin Salih, from 'Isa bin Yazid (۵:٣٨١). We have put it in brackets since it is has not been reported .by Abu Mikhnaf

٣- Al-Tabari (۵:٣٧٠): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid has related it to me from 'Abdullah bin Khazim al-Kathiri -from the tribe of Azd- that..."

۴- Al-Tabari (۵:٣٧١): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Mujalid bin Sa'id has narrated to me saying..."

۵- Al-Tabari (۵:٣۶٩): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Yusuf bin Abi Ishaq related to me that..."

a door of a lady called Taw'ah. She had been a slave-wife (umm walad) of Ash'ath bin (Qais(١)

who had freed her. Then she was married by Usaid al-Hadhrami(٢) and borne him [a son called] Bilal. Bilal had gone out with the people and his mother was standing [at .the door] waiting for him

Ibn 'Aqil greeted her and she returned the greeting. He said to her: "O servant of Allah! Give me water to drink." She entered the house and gave him a drink and he sat .[down. She took the vessel inside and then came out [again

"?She said: "O servant of Allah! Have you not had your drink

".He said: "Yes

She said: "Then go to your people." But he was silent. She repeated it but he was [still]

silent. Then she said to him: “Fear Allah with respect to me! Glory be to Allah, O servant of Allah! Go to your people, may Allah protect you. For it is not right for you to ”.sit at my door and I will not permit you to do it

He stood up and said: “O servant of Allah! I have neither house nor kinsmen in this town. Would you show me generosity and kindness? Perhaps I will be able to repay it ”?after this day

”?She said: “O Servant of Allah! What is it

”.He said: “I am Muslim bin ‘Aqil. These people have lied to me and deceived me

”!?She said: “You are Muslim

”.He said: “Yes

She said: “Come in.” She took him into a room in

Al-Tabari: Ash’ath bin Qais came to see the Messenger of Allah (S) in the year ۱۰ H -۱ amidst ۶۰ riders. He traced his ancestry from his mother’s side to Akil al-Mirar who had royal blood and wanted to link the Holy Prophet (S) to the same ancestry, but he related himself to al-Nadhr bin Kananah, something which did not impress Ash’ath (۳:۱۳۷). The Prophet of Allah (S) married his sister Qutailah, but he passed away before having relation with her. So she turned her back from Islam together with her brother Ash’ath! (۳:۱۶۸). Ash’ath turned his back from Islam after the Messenger of Allah (S) and fought [the Muslims] but was defeated (۳:۳۳۵). He sought protection [from the Muslims] and they granted it to him (۳:۳۳۷). Then they sent him along with other captives to Abu Bakr. [Ash’ath] had earlier proposed Abu Bakr’s sister, Umm Farwah, in marriage and [later] married her but did not have coition with her. Thereafter, he turned his back from Islam, so Abu Bakr freed him from captivity [and later] overlooked his wrong doing, accepted his Islam and returned back to him his family (۳:۳۳۹). However, on his death bed, Abu Bakr [regretted his action] saying: “I wish I

would have put Ash'ath to the sword the day he was brought to me as a captive; for he has made me believe that he did not come across any evil except that he supported it" (۳:۴۳۰). Ash'ath led ۱,۷۰۰ men from among the people of Yemen to join the army of the battle of al-Qadisiyyah (۳:۴۸۷). Sa'd [the commander in chief of the army] found Ash'ath among those with good physical features, an awe-inspiring personality and sound judgement and so he included him in the group of those who he sent to invite the Persian king to Islam (۳:۴۹۶). Ash'ath was urging his men –during the battle of al-Qadisiyyah- to fight the Persian army in the cause of the Arabs, there being no mention of Allah! (۳:۵۳۹۵۶۰). He marched with ۷۰۰ warriors from Kindah and killed the leader of the Persian brigade called 'Turk' (۳:۵۶۳). He craved for the the spoils of war attained by Khalid bin Walid and asked him for some and Khalid allowed him [to take] ۱۰,۰۰۰ [dirhams] (۴:۶۷). Ash'ath also participated in the battle of Nahawand (۴:۱۲۹). In the year ۳۰ H, he purchased from 'Uthman the spoils of war of Tirnabad in Iraq with [the money] he had in Hadhramaut (۴:۲۸۰). In the year ۳۴ H, Sa'id bin al-'As sent him from Kufah as the governer of Adharbaijan (۴:۳۳۱) and he was still in this position when 'Uthman died (۴:۴۲۲). Then 'Ali (as) invited Ash'ath to pay allegiance to him and join him and he accepted the invitation (۴:۵۶۱). He had accepted in Siffin the task of regaining control over the water from the followers of Mu'awiyah (۴:۵۶۹). He was the one who disobeyed Amir al-Mu'minin (as) [at Nahrawan] and gave consent to arbitration and nominated al-Ash'ari [for that] and refused to accept Ibn 'Abbas and al-Ashtar who were approved by 'Ali (as), insisting on al-Ash'ari while he was tired of the battle (۴:۵۱). He was the first person whose witness appeared on the document of arbitration. He called on al-Ashtar to sign [the document] but he refused and reproached him. Al-Ash'ath [then] went out reading the document to the people (۵:۵۵). He declined to accompany 'Ali (as) in his move towards Mu'awiyah after the Nahrawan and insisted on returning to Kufah under the pretext of [the need for] preparation (۵:۸۹). 'Uthman had tempted him with the taxes from Adharbaijan [nearing] ۱۰۰,۰۰۰ [dinars] a year (۵:۱۳۰). Ash'ath had also built a mosque in Kufah (۵:۲۲).

۲- Usaid bin Malik al-Hadhrami. It is said that he is the one who killed 'Abdullah bin Muslim in Karbala'. His son, Bilal, revealed the place in their house [where] Muslim [was hiding], which resulted in his killing.

her house, but not the room she used. She spread out a carpet for him and offered

her house, but not the room she used. She spread out a carpet for him and offered him supper but he did not eat.

Soon her son returned. He saw her frequently going in and out of that room. He said: "By Allah! Your constantly going into and coming out of that room this evening makes me suspect. There is something [there]."

She said: "O my son, forget about this."

He said: "By Allah, you must tell me!"

She replied: "Go on with your own business and do not ask me about anything." But he insisted to her until she said: "O my son! Do not tell any of the people anything about what I am going to tell you." She took from him an oath and he swore [not to do so]. Then she informed him. He went to bed without saying anything.(١)

The Stand of Ibn Ziyad

A long time passed for Ibn Ziyad without him hearing the [voices of the] supporters of Ibn 'Aqil as he heard them before. He said to his followers: "[Go and] look down at them. See whether you can see any of them?"

They looked down but did not see anyone. He said: "See whether they are in the shadows and are lying in ambush for you."

They [went] taking refuge in the corridors of the mosque. They began to lower the torches of fire in their hands and then look whether there is anyone in the shadows. Sometimes the torches gave light for them and sometimes they did not give [as much] light

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١ - Al-Tabari (۵:٣٧١): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Mujalid bin Sa'id narrated to me that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.٢١٢) and al-Maqtal of al-Khwarazmi (pg.٢٠٨). Al-Tabari reports on the authority of 'Ammar al-Duhani from Imam al-Baqir (as) who said: "When Muslim saw that he was now alone [and just] wandering in the streets [of Kufah], he stopped

at a door and a lady came out from the house. So he said to her: 'Give me water to drink.' She gave him water and then went inside. She came out again after sometime and found Muslim still at the door. So she said: 'O servant of Allah! Your sitting [here] arouses suspicion, so go away!' He said: 'I am Muslim bin 'Aqil, do you have shelter [for me]?' She said: 'Yes, come in.' Her son was a servant of Muhammad bin Ash'ath, so when he learnt of Muslim [being in their house], he went to Muhammad and informed him, who then went to 'Ubaidullah and gave him the news. 'Ubaidullah sent 'Amru bin Huraith al-Makhzumi -the head of his bodyguards- together with 'Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Ash'ath [to arrest Muslim]. Muslim did not know of this until after the house was surrounded [by them]" (۵:۳۵۰). But we shall see soon that the head of his bodyguards was [in fact] Husayn bin Tamim.

for them as they would have wished. So they let down the torches and sticks of cane tied with rope on which was fire. They were let down until they reached the ground. They did this in [places in which was] the deepest darkness, [as well as] those parts which were closer and those which were in between. They [also] did that in the darkness around the pulpit. When they saw that there was nothing, they informed Ibn Ziyad [that the people had dispersed].

Then he ordered his scribe, 'Amru bin Nafi',(۱) to announce [saying]:

"There is no guarantee of security for any man of the bodyguards, or the group leaders ('urafa'), the supporters and the fighters who prayed the night prayers ('isha') anywhere else except in the mosque."

It did not take an hour before the mosque was filled with the people. Husayn bin Tamim [al-Tamimi] -the chief of his bodyguards- (۲) said to Ibn Ziyad: "If you wish, you can lead the people in prayers, or someone else can lead them; for I fear that some of your enemies may attempt to assassinate you!"

He said: "Order my guards to stand behind me as they used to do and you should keep a watch on them." Then he opened the gateway which [went] into the mosque. He came out together with his followers. [He entered the mosque] and led the people [in prayers].

Ibn Ziyad's Address after Muslim had Remained Alone

:Thereafter,] Ibn Ziyad went on the pulpit, praised Allah and said]

Ibn 'Aqil -that fool and ignorant- has caused [all] these differences"

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Al-Tabari (۵:۳۸۰): He was Ibn Ziyad's scribe who wrote the letter for him to Yazid -۱ informing him of the killing of Muslim. He used to take long in writing letters and was .disliked by Ibn Ziyad

Al-Tabari: Ibn Ziyad had sent him [i.e. Husayn] to al-Qadisiyyah for arranging the -۲ horsemen from there to the cities of Khaffan, Qutqutanah and La'la' (۵:۳۹۴). He was the one who sent Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi, the messenger of al-Husayn (as), to Ibn Ziyad who latter killed him (۵:۳۹۵) and 'Abdullah bin Buqtur (۵:۳۹۸). He was the one to send ahead Hurr with an army of ۱,۰۰۰ men of the Banu Tamim from al-Qadisiyyah to encounter al-Husayn (as). He was the head of the guards in Karbala' and was [constantly] inciting them to kill Hurr (۵:۴۳۴). Ibn Sa'd had sent him along with ۵۰۰ archers to shoot at the followers of al-Husayn (as), so they drew near them and showered them with arrows, stunning thereby their horses (۵:۴۳۷). Ibn Tamim also launched an attack on the companions of al-Husayn (as) as they were preparing for the prayers, so Habib bin Mu¨ahir came out to him and struck the face of his horse with [his] sword upon which it reared and [Hasin] fell off. Consequently, Budail bin Suraim al 'Aqfani al-Tamimi struck Habib on the head with his sword. Another person from the Banu Tamim attacked him and stabbed him with a spear. Then Husayn bin Tamim returned to him and struck him on the head and [Habib] fell [to the ground]. Then Budail beheaded Habib and gave his head to Husayn. Husayn hung his head on the neck of his horse and went with it round the army and then gave it back to his killer (۵:۴۴۰). Husayn shot an arrow at the Imam (as) when he drew near the water to .(drink and the arrow hit his mouth and the Imam (as) prayed against him (۵:۴۴۹

and discord that you have seen! There will be no security from Allah for a man in whose house we find him. Whoever brings him, will have [the equivalent of] his blood-

money. Fear Allah, [O] servants of Allah! And keep to obedience and your pledge of .allegiance. Do not do anything which will be against yourselves

O Husayn bin Tamim! May your mother mourn you, if any of the gates of the lanes of Kufah is open, or this man gets away and you do not bring him to me! I give you authority over the houses of the people of Kufah! Send guards to [keep watch over] the openings of the streets. Tomorrow morning clear out [the people from] the houses "!and search them thoroughly so that you bring me this man

Ibn Ziyad in Pursuit of Muslim

Ibn Ziyad then descended [the pulpit] and went [inside the palace]. He gave a banner to 'Amru bin Huraith[۱] and appointed him over the people[۲], and ordered him to raise .[the banner of safe-conduct] for the people in the mosque

The news of Muslim's rise reached Mukhtar bin Abi 'Ubaid while he was in his village called Laqafa at Khutraniyyah. Mukhtar was among those people of Kufah who paid allegiance to Muslim and was sincere to him such that he even invited his followers to obey him. [After he received the news,] he set out for Kufah together with his followers and reached the gate of al-Fil in the evening. This was at a time when 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad had

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Al-Tabari: 'Amru bin Huraith al-Makhzumi. He purchased from Sa'ib bin al-Aqra' al- -۱ Thaqafi -the scribe and accountant of the Muslim army at the conquest of Nahawand- two large boxes from the spoils of war that contained pearls, chrysolite, and rubies, for two million dirhams. He then went to the cities in Persia and sold them for four million. He was the richest man in Kufah by the year ۲۱ H. (۵:۱۱۷) 'Amru was the deputy of Sa'id bin al-'As in Kufah and helped calm the people with respect to [the crisis of] 'Uthman in the year ۳۴ H (۴:۳۲۲). He also served as Ziyad bin Sumayyah's deputy in Kufah in ۵۱ H and was [once] stoned by the companions of Hujr (۵:۲۵۶). He was the head of the quarter of the people of Madinah [residing] in Kufah and was among those to testify against Hujr and his followers (۵:۲۶۸) in ۶۴ H. Ibn Huraith also served as Ibn

Ziyad's deputy in Kufah in the year ۶۴ H. When Yazid died and Ibn Ziyad made the bid for the caliphate, Ibn Huraith followed him and was inviting people towards his authority, on account of which he was stoned by the people of Kufah (۵:۵۲۴) and was expelled by them from the palace (۵:۵۶۰). He then detached himself from the people and joined the righteous people in the movement of Mukhtar in ۶۶ H (۶:۳۰). Ibn Huraith owned a bathhouse in Kufah (۶:۴۸). In the year ۷۱ H, he earned the favour of 'Abd al-Malik (۶:۱۶۷) and served as the deputy of Bishr bin Marwan in Kufah in ۷۳ H (۶:۱۴۴). Ibn Huraith refused to bring water to Muslim bin 'Aqil [when he was brought before Ibn Ziyad] (۵:۳۷۶). He pleaded for Zainab (as) in the court of Ibn Ziyad only because of his fervor for the Quraish (۵:۴۵۷). He died in ۸۵ H. He was ۱۲ years old when the the Prophet (S) passed away, as reported in Dhayl al-Mudhayyal (pg.۵۲۷; Suwaidan .(publications

"...Al-Tabari (۵:۳۷۱-۳۷۳): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Mujalid bin Sa'id narrated to me that -۲

.already appointed 'Amru bin Huraith as the in charge over the people

While Mukhtar was at bab al-Fil, Hani' bin Abi Hayyah al-Wada'i(۱) passed by and said to Mukhtar: "Why are you standing here?! You are neither with the people nor in your ".house

".Mukhtar replied: "I am shocked at the gravity of your crime

Hani' said: "By Allah! I think you are going to kill yourself." [He said this] and proceeded (towards 'Amru bin Huraith and informed him about Mukhtar.(۲

The Stand of Mukhtar

Abd al-Rahman bin Abi 'Umair al-Thaqafi(۳) says: "I was sitting in the company of' 'Amru bin Huraith when Hani' bin Abi Hayyah informed him of Mukhtar's statement. [On hearing this,] Ibn Huraith said to me: 'Go to your uncle and inform him that the whereabouts of his companion [i.e. Muslim bin 'Aqil] are not known, so he should not complicate things for himself.' As I was leaving, Zaidah bin Qudamah bin Mas'ud(۴) stood up and said to [Ibn Huraith]: 'Will he be safe if he comes to you?' 'Amru bin Huraith replied: 'He is safe on my side. If anything about his affair reaches 'Ubaidullah

bin Ziyad, [then] I shall give witness before him in his favour and intercede on his ".behalf." Za'idah said: "In this case we hope for the best, by the will of Allah

Abd al-Rahman says: "I went out to see Mukhtar along with Zaidah and informed him' [of our conversation with Ibn Huraith] and adjured him by Allah that he should not act in a way that he could

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Al-Tabari: He was among those who testified against Hujr and his followers (۵:۲۷۰) -۱ and went with the heads of Muslim and Hani' to Yazid (۵:۳۸). He met Mukhtar in Makkah during the reign of Ibn al-Zubair in ۶۴ H and learnt that Mukhtar was planning to return to Kufah and initiate a revolt there, so he warned Mukhtar of [causing] .(dissension (۵:۵۷۸

"...Al-Tabari: (۵:۵۶۹): "Abu Mikhnaf reports: 'Nadhr bin Salih related to me that -۲

Al-Tabari: He was with Mukhtar in his uprising in ۶۷ H (۶:۹۸). Apparently, he seems to -۳ be 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abdullah bin 'Uthman al-Thaqafi, the son of Mu'awiyah's sister by the name of Umm al-Hakam. Mu'awiyah had appointed him as the governor of Kufah in ۵۸ H after Dahhak bin Qais, while the head of his bodyguards then was Za'idah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi (۵:۳۱۰). He was earlier the governer of Mosul under Mu'awiyah in ۵۱ H. He was the one who killed 'Amru bin al-Humq al-Khuza'i while he was ill, claiming it to be a retaliation for 'Uthman's blood (۵:۲۶۵). He maltreated the people of Kufah to the extent that they expelled him and he joined Mu'awiyah, his maternal uncle, who then appointed him as the governor of Egypt and he was [again] expelled from there, so he returned back to Mu'awiyah (۵:۳۱۲). If it was not for his .family ties with Yazid, Ibn Huraith would not have benefited him

.We have already given his biography in the introduction -۴

be accused. So Mukhtar [accepted and] went to see Ibn Huraith and greeted him and (stayed under his protection till morning."(۱

Kathir [bin Shihab al-Harithi] happened to see a man from the tribe of Kalb -who was known as 'Abd al-A'la bin Yazid- in Banu Fityan [an area in Kufah]. He had taken up

arms with him, looking for Ibn ‘Aqil. Kathir caught him and took him to Ibn Ziyad and informed him about his intention. He said to [Ibn Ziyad]: “I only intended [to join] you!” He said [mockingly]: “And you had, indeed, promised me that!” Then he ordered him to be imprisoned.(٢)

Muslim’s Hiding Place Disclosed

In the morning, Ibn Ziyad took his seat and allowed the people to come and see him. [When] Muhammad bin Ash’ath entered, Ibn Ziyad said: “Welcome to one whose [loyalty] is above suspicion and accusation!” Then he sat him by his side.

The son of that old woman who provided shelter to Muslim bin ‘Aqil, that is Bilal bin Usaid, went to Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Ash’ath in the morning and told him that Ibn ‘Aqil was with his mother. So ‘Abd al-Rahman went to his father who was with Ibn Ziyad and whispered the news to him.

Ibn Ziyad asked him: “What did he tell you?”

He replied: “He has informed me that Ibn ‘Aqil is [hiding] in one of the houses of our [tribe].”

“Go and bring him to me immediately”, said Ibn Ziyad, poking a cane into his side. (٣)

The Move to Arrest Muslim

[Ibn Ziyad] sent an order to ‘Amru bin Huraith]

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١ - Al-Tabari (٥:٥٧٠): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Nadhr bin Salih related to e from ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Abi ‘Umair al-Thaqafi that...”

٢ - Al-Tabari (٥:٣٦٩): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Abu Janab al-Kalbi has narrated to me that...”

٣ - Al-Tabari (٥:٣٧١-٣٧٣): “Abu Mikhnaf reports: ‘Mujalid bin Sa’id narrated to me...” See also al-Irshad (pg.٢١٣) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.٢٠٨).

his representative in the mosque- that he should dispatch sixty or seventy men from-

the tribe of Qais [to accompany Ibn Ash'ath]. [The reason being that] Ibn Ziyad disliked sending Ash'ath's Kinsmen(١) with him, for he well knew that every tribe detested a person like Ibn 'Aqil to be arrested by them. So Ibn Huraith sent 'Amru bin 'Ubaid bin 'Abbas al-Sulami to accompany Ibn Ash'ath with [around] sixty or seventy men from Qais and they [proceeded] until they reached the house where Ibn 'Aqil was hiding.

Muslim Fights Ibn Ash'ath

When [Muslim (as)] heard the [voices of the] hooves of the horses and voices of the men, he understood that they have come [to arrest him]. [As] he went out to face them with his sword, they forced their way into the house. He severely resisted, striking them with his sword until he drove them out of the house. They repeated the attack and he counter-attacked in the same way.

Bukair [bin Hamran al-Ahmari al-Shami] struck Muslim's mouth, cutting his upper lip and slicing down to the lower lip to knock out two of his front teeth. Muslim struck him a terrible blow on his head and repeated it again, severing a nerve along his shoulder with a blow which almost reached his stomach.

Muslim Attacked with Stones and Fire

When they saw this, they [went up and] looked down on him from the rooftop of the house. They began throwing stones at him and to light canes of wood with fire which they threw on him from the top of the

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١ - Ibn Ash'ath himself could have justified this act of his by saying that he was only taking out Muslim from the house of their slave lady, Taw'ah, and her son Bilal. This indicates how well acquainted Ibn Ziyad was with regard to tribal matters such that he was careful of them and employed them for his own ends.

house. When [Muslim (as)] saw this, he went out against them into the lane with his sword unsheathed.

Muhammad bin Ash'ath came forward and said to him: "O young man! You are given :security, do not kill yourself." But he continued to fight against them saying

I have taken an oath that I will only be killed as a free man, although I see death as a .detestable thing

Every man one day will meet evil, as the pleasant and easy [situation] gets mixed up .with difficulty and bitterness

The heart is at peace [now] after being terrified(۱), [but] I fear that I will be cheated .and deluded

Muslim Taken as a Prisoner

Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath said to him: "You shall not be lied to or deceived or cheated; for these people [i.e. the Banu Umayyah] are your cousins, they will not fight ".against you or strike you

Muslim] was [now] exhausted as a result of constant hail of stones and was unable to] fight. [So he paused to rest] and leaned with his back to the wall of the house. ".Muhammad bin Ash'ath called out to him: "You are granted protection

"?So [Muslim] asked: "Am I granted security

".Ibn Ash'ath replied: "Yes" and the people with him said: "[Yes] you are in safety

Ibn 'Aqil said: "If it was not for this security that you have granted me, I would not have put my hand in yours." [Here it becomes apparent that he surrendered himself .[because of the protection he was granted

A mule was brought and he was sat on it. They gathered

In the actual text of al-Tabari and other books that have reached us, the phrase -۱ shi'a' al-nafs has been replaced with shi'a' al-shams (rays of the sun). According to

Shaikh al-Samawi in Ibsar al-'Ain (pg.۴۹), this is a distortion by those who could not understand the meaning of shi'a' al-nafs, so it seemed to them that shi'a' al-shams was more appropriate. Shi'a' al-nafs means 'the fearing of the heart' as it is said: marat nafsuhu shi'a'an, that is his heart became dispersed like the tiny rays out of fear (tafarraqat nafsuhu kasshi'a' al-daqiq min al-khauf); for shi'a' means a thing .which is totally scattered

around him and pulled away his sword from his neck, as if he was in despair for his life ".and his eyes filled with tears. He said: "This is the beginning of the deception

".Muhammad bin Ash'ath answered: "I hope no difficulty falls upon you

Is it just a hope, where is your protection?! 'Indeed we belong to Allah and to Him do" .we indeed return!'", he retorted as he wept

Amru bin 'Ubaidullah bin 'Abbas [al-Sulami -the one who led the soldiers to capture' Ibn 'Aqil] said to him: "One who has sought for the like of what you have sought for, ".would not weep when there befalls him what has befallen you

Muslim replied: "By Allah! I am indeed not weeping for myself, nor am I lamenting for my own death, even though I have not the slightest desire for destruction. But I am weeping for my family who are coming to me, I am weeping for al-Husayn and the ".(family of al-Husayn (as

Muslim's Will to Ibn al-Ash'ath

Then he went to Muhammad bin Ash'ath and said: "O Servant of Allah! By Allah, I can see that you are unable to grant me protection. Yet do you have the goodness to be able to send one of your men to inform al-Husayn on my behalf? For I have no doubt that he has [already] set out towards you today, or will be setting out tomorrow with his family members. The anxiety you witness in me is only because of this. [The messenger] should say: "Ibn 'Aqil has

sent me to you. He is a prisoner in the hands of the people and he does not expect to see the evening before he is killed. He says: ‘Return with your household and do not let the people of Kufah tempt you! For they were the followers of your father who desired separation from them through death or murder! The people of Kufah have lied to you and me. [Indeed,] a person who has been lied to has no say!”

Ibn Ash’ath said: “By Allah! I will do that and I will inform Ibn Ziyad that I have given you a guarantee of security.”(١)

Muslim at the Gate of the Palace

Muhammad bin Ash’ath went with Ibn ‘Aqil to the gate of the palace while he was thirsty. There were [already] some people sitting there waiting for the permission to enter. Among them were ‘Umara bin ‘Uqbah bin Abi Mu’ti’, ‘Amru bin Huraith, Muslim bin ‘Amru and Kathir bin Shihab.(٢)

There was a jug of cold water placed at the doorway. Ibn ‘Aqil said: “Give me a drink of this water.”

Muslim bin ‘Amru [al-Bahili] said to him: “Do you see how cold it is! By Allah, you will never taste a drop of it until you taste the boiling water (hamim) in the Hell fire!”

[Muslim] said: “Woe on you! Who are you?”

Al-Bahili replied: “I am the one(٣) who recognized the truth when you denied it; who was sincere to his leader (imam) while you deceived him, who listened and obeyed him when you disobeyed and opposed him! I am

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١- Al-Tabari (۵:٣٧٢): “Abu Mikhnaf said: ‘Qudamah bin Sa’id bin Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi has related to me from his grandfather Zaydah that...” For more about him, see the Introduction.

٢- Al-Tabari (۵:٣٧۵): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Ja’far bin Hudhaifah al-Tai narrated to me that...”

The actual text reads: “I am the son of one…”, but the correct version is what has -۳ .been mentioned in this text

"!Muslim bin ‘Amru al-Bahili

Ibn ‘Aqil retorted: “May your mother weep at the sorrow of your death! How coarse you are, how rough and hard your heart is. O Son of Bahilah, you are more appropriate for the boiling water of the hell fire and to remain there forever than I "!am

Then he sat down resting his back against the wall. ‘Amru bin Huraith [al-Makhzumi] sent his slave called Sulaiman and he brought [some] water in a pitcher(۱) with a napkin on it and a cup. He poured water into it and gave him to drink. But whenever he went to drink, the cup filled with blood. When he filled the cup for the third time and went to drink, his front teeth fell into the cup. So he said: “All praise is due to Allah! If it (was part of my decreed provision, I would have [indeed] drunk it.”(۲

Ibn al-Ash’ath] asked permission to enter and it was given to him.(۳) Muslim was] brought before Ibn Ziyad but did not greet him. So a guard said to him: “Will you not "?salute the governor

Muslim] replied: “If he wants to kill me, then what is [the point of] greeting him with] words of peace?! But if he does not want to kill me, then -by my life- my greetings [of ".peace] to him would be profuse

"!Ibn Ziyad then said to him: “By my life, you will surely be killed

"?He said: “Is it so

".He replied: “Yes

He said: “Then let me make a will

Here Abu Mikhnaf stops his report from Qudamah bin Sa’id and begins relating -۱

from Sa'id bin Mudrak bin 'Umarah bin 'Uqbah bin Abi Mu'it [saying] that he is the one who sent his servant called Qais to bring the pitcher. The report of Ibn Mudrak appears to go back to that of Qudamah. We [here] preferred Qudamah's report on the authority of his grandfather Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi, because we have indicted Ibn Mudrak for concocting [this] narration as a merit for his grandfather, 'Umara, whereas such an objection cannot be made on the report of Qudamah since he has not attributed it to his grandfather, Zaidah, although he was present at the scene, but instead attributes it to 'Amru bin Huraith. Ibn Huraith had two other stands [also]: his favourable word about Mukhtar in the presence of Ibn Ziyad as he testified in favour of the former thus saving him from being killed; and his intervention when Ibn Ziyad intended to beat [Lady] Zainab (as), though all this was out of his fervour for Quraish. As for 'Umarah bin 'Uqbah bin Abi Mu'it al-Umawiyy, he is among the enemies of the Ahl al-Bait (as) whose biography we have mentioned in the introduction. Shaikh al-Mufid has mentioned Qudamah's report in al-Irshad (pg.٢١٥) and so has al-Khwarazmi in his al-Maqtal (pg.٢١٠). Al-Samawi has reconciled between the two reports by saying that both of them [i.e. 'Umarah and 'Amru] had sent for the .water, something which is not correct. See Ibsar al-'Ain (pg.٤٥) of al-Samawi

"...Al-Tabari (٥:٣٧٥): "Abu Mikhnaf reports from Qudamah bin Sa'id that -٢

Al-Tabari (٥:٣٧٥): "Abu Mihnaf says: 'Ja'far bin Hudhaifah al-Ta'i related to me - ٣ "...saying

".to some of my tribesmen

Muslim's Will to 'Umar bin Sa'd

So he looked at the people who were seated with 'Ubaidullah and among them was 'Umar bin Sa'd. So he called out: "O 'Umar! Indeed there is kinship between you and me(١) and I have need of you. I have a right on you that you should fulfill my request, .but it is a secret." [But 'Umar bin Sa'd] refused to listen to him

".So 'Ubaidullah told him: "Do not refuse to consider the need of your cousin

So 'Umar got up with him and sat where Ibn Ziyad could see him. [Ibn 'Aqil said]: "I have a debt in Kufah. I have borrowed seven hundred dirhams since I arrived in

Kufah, [please] repay it on my behalf. Ask Ibn Ziyad to give you my corpse [after I have been killed] and bury it. Send someone to al-Husayn (as) to send him back. For I have written to him telling him that the people are with him, and now I can only think that he is coming."(۲)

Muslim in the Presence of Ibn Ziyad

Then Ibn Ziyad said: "Yes, Ibn 'Aqil! You came to the people while they were united in order to scatter them and divide their opinions so that some of them may attack others?!"

He replied: "Never! I did not come for that, but [because] the people of the city claimed that your father had killed their best men and shed their blood and that he ruled over them the rule of Choesroe and Caesar. We came to them to enjoin justice and invite

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۱- Both of them were from Quraish and both were related to the Banu Zuhrah –the tribe from which Ibn Sa'd came- from their mother's side.

۲- Muslim (as) repeated the last part of his will to Ibn Sa'd after he had earlier asked Ibn Ash'ath to do so, due to the significance of the matter and that may be one of them would act on it.

[them] to the rule (hukm) by the Book [of Allah]."

Ibn Ziyad retorted: "O sinner! What are you [to do] with that! Did not we do that when you were in Madinah drinking wine!"

Ibn 'Aqil exclaimed: "Me, drink wine! By Allah, verily, Allah knows that you are not speaking the truth and you have spoken without any knowledge and that I am not like you have said. [He knows] that the more deserving [to be accused] of drinking wine than me and the more entitled to that, is you who laps the blood of Muslims, kills the soul which Allah has forbidden, kills innocent people, sheds sacred blood and kills out of rage, enmity and suspicion, while he is indulged in play and sport as if he has done nothing [wrong]!"

Ibn Ziyad [angrily] said: "O sinner! Your soul is making you desire that [i.e. caliphate] which Allah has deprived you of and did not regard you worthy of it."

He said: "Who is worthy of it, O Ibn Ziyad?"

He answered: "Yazid, the commander of the faithful."

Ibn 'Aqil said: "Praise is due to Allah in all conditions. We accept Allah as a judge between you and us."

Ibn Ziyad said: "As if you assume that you have a right to it!"

He replied: "By Allah, it is not an assumption (Zann) but a conviction!"

Ibn Ziyad said: "May Allah kill me, if I do not kill you in a manner that no one in Islam has been killed before!"

He said: "You wil never abandon evil murder,

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wicked punishment, shameful practice, and avaricious domination to anyone [else], as no one among the people is more entitled to these [crimes] than you."

[Hearing this,] the son of Sumayyah(١) began to curse him and to curse al-Husayn, 'Ali and 'Aqil.

The Martyrdom of Ibn 'Aqil

[Ibn Ziyad] then ordered: "Take him up to the top of the palace and behead him and throw his body to the ground."

[Muslim] said [to Ibn Ash'ath]: "O Ibn Ash'ath! By Allah, had you not offered me protection, I would not have surrendered myself. So rise with your sword in defense of me; for the security [you granted me] has been broken!"(٢)

So Ibn Ash'ath came forward and gave 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] an account of Muslim's

[arrest] and how he was struck by Bukair [bin Hamran] and informed him about the guarantee of security he gave to [Ibn ‘Aqil].

Ibn Ziyad said: “What have you to do with granting security! As if we had sent you to give him protection! We only sent you to bring him to us!” So [Ibn Ash’ath] kept quiet.(٣)

Then Ibn Ziyad said: “Where is this person whose head and shoulder Ibn ‘Aqil struck with [his] sword?” So he was called and Ibn Ziyad [told him]: “Go up and [now] you be the one who cuts his head off.”

So he went up with him. [Ibn ‘Aqil] was exalting Allah saying allahu akbar and seeking His forgiveness and sending salutations on His angels and prophets saying: “O Allah, You judge between us and a people who enticed us, lied to

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١- Sumayyah was the mother of Ziyad [bin Abih] and used to have a flag over her house during the days of Ignorance (jahiliyyah) to indicate that she was was prostitute. Abu Sufyan and other men had illicit relations with her which resulted in the birth of Ziyad. So they drew lots by using arrows which were without head and feathers in order to decide who would have Ziyad. He fell to Abu Sufyan’s lot and he claimed him to be his son. Nevertheless, he came to be known as Ziyad bin Sumayyah, that is after his mother, until after Mu’awiyah attributed him to his own father. [By doing so,] Mu’awiyah commited the most abominable act from the viewpoint of both religion and convention (‘urf).

٢- Al-Tabari (٥:٣٧۶): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Sa’id bin Mudrak bin ‘Umarah narrated to me from his grandfather, ‘Umarah bin ‘Uqbah bin Abi Mu’it, that...”

٣- Al-Tabari (٥:٣٧٥): “Abu Mikhnaf reports that: ‘Ja’far bin Hudhaifah al-Tai informed me that...”

us and deserted us.”

So [Bukair al-Ahmari] led him up to a part which overlooked where the butchers are

(today.(۱) His head was cut off and his body was made to follow his head.(۲

When Bukair bin Hamran descended after killing Muslim, Ibn Ziyad asked him: “Have ”.you killed him?” He replied: “Yes

”?Ibn Ziyad [inquired]: “What was he saying as you were taking him up

He said: “He was mentioning the greatness of Allah and glorifying Him and seeking His forgiveness. When I drew him nearer to kill him, he said: ‘O Allah, You judge between us and a people who lied to us, deceived us, deserted us and killed us.’ I told him: ‘Get closer to me’ and gave him a blow but to no avail. Then I struck him for the second ”.time and killed him

(Then his head was brought to Ibn Ziyad.(۳

Umar [bin Sa‘d] said to Ibn Ziyad: “Do you know what he said to me? He told me so‘ ”.and so

Ibn Ziyad said: “The faithful would not betray you. But sometimes a treacherous man is given a trust.(۴) With regard to your money, it belongs to you and we will not prevent you from doing with it what you like.(۵) As for al-Husayn, if he does not intend [harm] to us, so will we. But if he intends [harm] to us, we will not hold back from him. (As for the body, we do not care what is done to it after we have killed him.”(۶

The Martyrdom of Hani’ bin ‘Urwah

After the martyrdom of

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By ‘now’ Abu Mikhnaf meant his own times. Al-Irshad (pg.۲۱۶) says: “...now the - ۱ location of the cobblers (al-hidhaiyyin)”, while al-Khwarazmi says on page ۲۱۵ of his al-Maqtal: “...the market of the butchers”, and again on page ۲۱۴ he says: “...at a place where sheeps and goats were sold.” This report [of al-Khwarazmi] supports what has .appeared in the text of al-Tabari

۲ - Al-Tabari (۵:۳۷۶): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Sa'id bin Mudrak bin 'Umarah narrated to me..."

۳ - Al-Tabari (۵:۳۷۸): "Abu Mikhnaf reports that: "Saq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifah that..."

۴ - When Ibn Sa'd saw that Ibn Ziyad has asked Ibn Hamran about the last words of Muslim (as), he immediately went on to disclose what Muslim had entrusted him with in order to win [Ibn Ziyad's] favour, but Ibn Ziyad responded by charging him with treachery. Such is the reward of the bootlickers!

۵ - By saying: "With regard to your money...", as if Ibn Ziyad considers him to be the inheritor of Muslim!

۶ - In another version he is reported to have said: "We will not grant your request regarding his corpse, since we do not consider him to deserve that, for he fought and opposed us and also tried to destroy us" (al-Tabari:۵:۳۷۷). This is found in the same narration by Abu Mikhnaf which begins with [the following phrase]: "And they thought that he said..."

Muslim bin 'Aqil, [Ibn Ziyad] declined to fulfil his promise [to Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath that he would return Hani' to him in order to avoid the enmity of [Hani's] tribesmen; for it was him who took him to Ibn Ziyad]. 'Ubaidullah then ordered for Hani' bin 'Urwah and said: "Take him to the market place and cut off his head."

So Hani' was taken -while he his hands were tied behind his back- to a place in the market where sheep were sold. Hani' began to shout: "O Madhhij! There is no one from Madhhij for me today! O Madhhij! Where are the Madhhij to help me!"

When he saw that no one is helping him, he pulled his hand and wrenched it free of the handcuff, saying: "Is there no stick, knife, stone or bone with which one can defend himself!" [At this] they jumped on him and tied him [more] tightly. Then it was said to him: "Stretch your neck forward." Hani' said: "I am not so generous with my life, I will not help you against myself."

Then a Turkish slave of 'Ubaidullah by the name of Rashid(۱) struck him with [his] sword to no avail. So Hani' said: "To Allah is the return. O Allah, to Your mercy and

pleasure [do I return]!" Then he struck him again and killed him.(٢) [May Allah's mercy and pleasure be upon him. Then they took his head to Ibn Ziyad].(٣)

Those Who Were Killed After Muslim and Hani'

After killing Muslim and Hani', 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad ordered for 'Abd al-A'ala al-Kalbi,

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١- Al-Tabari (٥:٣٧٩): [Later,] 'Abd al-Rahman bin al-Husayn al-Muradi happened to see Rashid with 'Ubaidullah and heard people saying that: "This is the killer of Hani' bin 'Urwah." So he attacked him with a spear, stabbed him and killed him. See also al-Irshad (pg.٢١٧) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.٢١۴).

٢- Al-Tabari (٥:٣٧٨): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Sa'qab bin Zuhair narrated to me from 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifah..."

٣- Al-Tabari does not mention here that they were dragged by their two legs in the markets. But after this, he reports from Abu Mikhnaf himself who narrated from Abu Janab al-Kalbi, who in turn was relating from 'Adiyy bin Harmalah al-Asadi on the authority of 'Abdullah bin Salim and Madhri bin al-Mushma'il –both of whom were from Banu Asad, who reported from Bukair bin Math'abah al-Asadi who said: "I did not leave Kufah until after Muslim bin 'Aqil and Hani' bin 'Urwah were killed and I saw them being dragged by their two legs in the market (٥:٣٩٧). Al-Khwarazmi (٢:٢١٥) and Ibn Shahrashub (٢:٢١٢) have mentioned that Ibn Ziyad crucified them up side down in the outskirts of Kufah."

the one arrested by Kathir bin Shihab at Banu Fityan. So he was brought [before Ibn Ziyad]. Ibn Ziyad said to him: "Tell me about your case."

He said: "May Allah make you among the righteous! I had [just] come out to see what the people were doing when Kathir bin Shihab arrested me."

[Ibn Ziyad said]: "You must heavily swear that you did not come out for some other reason", but al-Kalbi refused to do so [and 'Ubaidullah got convinced that he had come out in support of Muslim].

Then, Ibn Ziyad ordered [saying]: “Take this man to the cemetery of Sabi’ and behead .him there.” So they took him and killed him

Then ‘Umarah bin Salkhab al-Azdi was brought before ‘Ubaidullah. He was among .those who intended to mobilize people in support of Muslim bin ‘Aqil

”?Ibn Ziyad] asked him: “From which clan are you]

”.He replied: “From Azd

Ibn Ziyad] then said: “Take him to his people [and kill him there].” So he was taken and] (beheaded amidst his people.(۱

The Imprisonment of Mukhtar

The next morning when the door of ‘Ubaidullah’s palace was opened and people were allowed to enter, Mukhtar [also] went in. [Upon seeing him,] ‘Ubaidullah called him and ”?said: “You are the one who was moving in a group of people to help Ibn ‘Aqil

He replied: “[No,] I never did that. I only came under the banner of ‘Amru bin Huraith and spent the night with him till morning.” [Here] ‘Amru said: “He is right, may Allah ”.preserve you

Then [Ibn Ziyad] lifted his staff and

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۷۸): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Saq’ab bin Zuhair related to me from ‘Aun bin -۱ ”’…Abi Juhaifah that

struck the face of Mukhtar tearing his eye, and said: “Woe onto you! By Allah! Were it ”.not for the testimony of ‘Amru, I would have beheaded you. Take him to prison

He was then taken to prison and remained there until the martyrdom of al-Husayn ((as).(۱

The Heads of Muslim and Hani’ Sent to Yazid

Ubaidullah bin Ziyad dispatched Hani bin Abi Hayyah al-Wadi'i [al-Kalbi al-Hamdani]' and Zubair bin al-Arwah al-Tamimi with the heads of [Muslim] and [Hani'] to Yazid bin Mu'awiyah. He [also] ordered his scribe 'Amru bin Nafi' to write to Yazid bin Mu'awiyah about what happened to Muslim and Hani'. He wrote a long letter. When 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad saw it, he disliked it and said: "What is this prolixity and this excess? Write [as :[I say

All praise is due to Allah, who exacted the dues of the commander of the faithful and" has given him sufficient provisions against his enemy. I [am writing to] inform the commander of the faithful -May Allah honour him- that Muslim bin 'Aqil took refuge in the house of Hani' bin 'Urwah al-Muradi. I set look-outs and spies on them, concealed men against them, I tricked them until I brought them out. Allah gave me power over them. Thus I came upon them and had them executed. I have sent their heads to you with Hani' bin Abi Hayyah al-Hamdani and Zubair bin al-Arwah al-Tamimi. They are both men of loyalty, obedience and sincerity. Let the commander of the faithful ask them about whatever of the affair he may wish; for

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"...Al-Tabari (۵:۵۶۶): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Nadhr bin Salih has narrated to me that -۱

".they have knowledge, truth, understanding and piety. That is all

Yazid wrote [in reply]: "You have not gone beyond what I wanted. You have acted with the decisive action I wanted. You have launched into the attack with the violence of man who has control of his emotion. You have sufficed me, been sufficient [for the task], and acted true to my expectation and opinion of you. I have summoned your two messengers, questioned them and talked to them. I found them in their views and merit as you had mentioned. Receive them both with kindness on my recommendation. I have come to learn that Husayn bin 'Ali has set out towards Iraq. So prepare watchtowers (manaZir)(۱) and outposts (masalih). Guard against any suspicious case and arrest [people] upon mere accusation. Do not kill except one who fights you. Write to me about any news which occurs. May the peace and mercy of

(Allah be upon you."(٢

Muslim bin 'Aqil rose in Kufah on Tuesday, ٨th of Dhu al-Hijjah ۶٠ H, while al-Husayn [(as) left Makkah also] on Tuesday, the Day of Tarwiyah, on the same day when (Muslim rose.(٣

Abdullah bin Zubair al-Asadi, or according to some al-Farazdaq, composed the' :following verses on the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aqil and Hani' bin 'Urwah al-Muradi

O soul! If you do not know what death is, then look at Hani' in the market-place and .Ibn 'Aqil

Look at a hero [i.e. Hani'] whose face has beed smashed by the sword, and at another [i.e. Muslim] who

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Al-mana¨ir is the plural of man¨arah which means a place used for keeping an eye -١ on the enemy, while al-masalih, plural of maslahah, is a place in which armed men keep a watch on the enemy in order to avert any sudden attack. See also al-Irshad .((pg.٢١٧) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.٢۴۵

Al-Tabari: "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'I relate from Abu Janab Yahya bin Abi Hayyah al- -٢ Kalbi (۵:٣٨٠). He is the brother of Hani' bin Abi Hayyah, the one who carried the heads of Muslim and Hani' to Yazid. It appears from Abu Janab's report about his brother that he was proud of the way Ibn Ziyad described him that he was a man of knowledge, truth, understanding and piety! And also the way Yazid characterized him, .though such an attitude was not unexpected from the tribe of Kilab

Al-Tabari (۵:٣٧٨): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair narrates from 'Aun bin Abi -٣ "...Juhaifah that

.fell dead from a high place

The command of the governer struck them down, and they became legends for those .who travel on every road

You see a corpse whose colour death has changed, and a spattering of blood, which .has flown abundantly

A young man [who was even] more bashful than a shy young woman, [but] he was .more decisive than the polished blade of a double-edged sword

How can Asma'(۱) safely ride on ambling horses, while the Madhhij urged him to seek .vengeance

The young and old from [the Banu] Murad, have surrounded him with their necks .erected

If you [still] do not avenge your brother's blood, then you are like a whore who gives (consent to the little [she is given].(۲),(۳

Al-Husayn's Departure From Makkah

point

Al-Husayn (as) left Madinah for Makkah on Sunday, two nights before the end of Rajab ۶۰ H(۴), and reached Makkah on the night preceding Friday, third of Sha'ban, and stayed there throughout the months of Sha'ban, Ramadhan, Shawwal and Dhu al-Qa'dah, and left Makkah on Tuesday, eight of Dhu al-Hijjah, the Day of Tarwiyah, .the very day Muslim bin 'Aqil launched his uprising

The people of Makkah started frequenting [al-Husayn (as)] and so did others who had .come for the 'umrah, and those from other places

(Ibn al-Zubair's Stand Vis-à-Vis al-Husayn (as

Ibn al-Zubair was among those who used to come to see [the Imam (as)]. Sometimes he would come for two consecutive days and sometimes once after every two days. Ibn al-Zubair well knew that the people of Hijaz would never follow or pay allegiance to him so

This refers to Asma' bin Kharijah al-Fazari who brought Hani' bin 'Urwah to Ibn - ١ .Ziyad

Al-Tabari (٥:٣٨١): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from 'Aun bin - ٢ "...Abi Juhaifah that

Al-Tabari narrates on the authority of 'Ammar al-Duhani from Imam al-Baqir (as) - ٣ who said: "Their poet said the following on that..." and the Imam (as) mentioned three verses of it, the first being "And (fa) [O soul!] If you do not know what death is, then look at..." (٥:٣٥٠), while in the text it reads "[O soul!] If you do not know..." which is not correct, as the couplet does not rhyme in this case. Al-Muhaqqiq has recorded the name Zubair as 'Zabair' and he seems to have taken it from al-Kamil of Ibn al-Athir (٤:٣٦) and Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.١٠٨). With regard al-Asadi [the poet], al-Isfahani says in his book (pg.٢٩٠): "He was one of the notable Shi'ite narrators of hadith and 'Abbad bin Ya'qub al-Rawajani (d.٢٠٥ H) and his like, and even more distinguished personalities than him, have also narrated from 'Abdullah". It has also been related from al-Isfahani that he was among the companions of Muhammad bin 'Abdillah bin al-Hasan Dhi al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, who was martyred during the rule of Mansur in the year ١٤٥ H. Al-Isfahani then says: "He is the father of Abu Ahmad al-Zubairi, the traditionist whose actual name was Muhammad bin 'Abdillah bin al-Zubair" (pg.٢٩٠). Al-Kashhi narrates in his al-Rijal (hadith no.٦٢١) from 'Abd al-Rahman bin Sayabah who said: "Abu 'Abdillah (as) gave me some dinars and aksed me to distribute them among the families of those who were martyred along with his uncle Zayd. So I distributed the money, and the share of the family of 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair al-Rassan was four dinars. Shaikh al-Mufid reports in al-Irshad (pg.٢٦٩) from Abu Khalid al-Wasiti who said: "Abu 'Abdillah (as) gave me a thousand dinars and ordered me to distribute them among the families of those who had been martyred with Zayd and the share of the family of 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair, the brother of Fudhail al-Rassan, was four dinars." In fact, they might be two different persons with the same name; for while al-Isfahani counts Ibn al-Zubair among the distinguished Shi'ah traditionists, the author of al-Aghani (١٣:٣١) asserts that he was a partisan of the Banu Umayyah who was very zealous in their cause and supported them against their enemies! He further says: "Ibn al-Zubair never assisted anyone against them or their governors. 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad used to maintain relations with him, honour him and pay his

debts. Ibn al-Zubair has in return a number of eulogies in praise of Ibn Ziyad and also Asma' bin Kharijah al-Fazari (al-Aghani:١٣:٣٣٣٧). Sayyid al-Muqarram brings the above verses attributed to al-Asadi in his book al-Shahid Muslim (pg.٢٠١) and says: "How can one ascribe these verses about Muslim and Hani' to this man after knowing his inclination towards the Banu Umayyah and his eulogies in their praise?!" Al-Muqarram then prefers to attribute them to Farazdaq who composed them after his return from hajj in the year ٦٠ H. Al-Isfahani quotes these verses ascribed to Ibn al-Zubair al-Asadi from al-Madaini who narrated them on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf from Yusuf .bin Yazid

Al-Tabari says: "And in this year -٦٠ H- Yazid dismissed Walid bin 'Utbah in the - ۴ month of Ramadhan [from the governership of Madinah] and replaced him with 'Amru bin Sa'id bin al-'Ass al-Ashdaq who reached the city in the same month. Al-Ashdaq was eloquent and a very proud person (٥:٣٤٣). It has also been reported in a narration that he entered the city in Dhu al-Qa'dah of the year ٦٠ H (٥:٣٤٦)." Al-Tabari also writes: "In this year [٦٠ H] Yazid bin Mu'awiyah dismissed Walid bin 'Utbah from Makkah and appointed 'Amru bin Sa'id bin al-'Ass as the governor of both Makkah and Madinah in the month of Ramadhan of the same year. 'Amru bin Sa'id led the people to (pilgrimage on the same year while he was Yazid's governer in both the cities." (٥:٣٩٩

long as al-Husayn (as) was in the city, and that the latter was more revered in their (eyes and that the people would obey [al-Husayn] more than they would obey him.(١

One day [Ibn al-Zubair] talked to the Imam (as) for a while saying: "I do not know why we distanced [ourselves] from these people [i.e. the Banu Umayyah] and abstained from [rising against] them while we are the sons of the muhajirun and [more entitled] ".to this position than they are! Tell me what do you intend to do

Al-Husayn (as) replied: "By Allah! I am thinking of going towards Kufah, for my followers (shi'ah) and the noblemen in the city have written to me about this, and I ".pray to Allah for the best

Ibn al-Zubair said to him: "If I had the like of your followers in Kufah, I would not have "!abandoned going there

Having said this,] Ibn al-Zubair feared that the Imam might doubt his intentions [and] think that he wants him to leave Makkah so that he could then secure the support of the people for himself,] so he [immediately] said: "However, if you stay in Hijaz and pursue your aim [of attaining the caliphate], you will not face opposition by the will of .Allah." Ibn al-Zubair then stood up and left

After Ibn al-Zubair went away,] al-Husayn (as) said: "There is nothing more lovable in] this world for this man than my departure from Hijaz to Iraq. He understands that he would not attain [the caliphate] so long

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Al-Tabari (۵:۳۵۱): "Abu Mikhnaf says: "'Abd al-Rahman bin Jundab has narrated to -۱ me saying that 'Uqbah bin Sim'an, the servant of Rubab, the daughter of Imru' al- "...Qais and the wife of al-Husayn (as), related to me that

as I am there, and that the people do not consider him to be on par with me. He longs (me to leave [Makkah] so that the city should be solely for him."(۱),(۲

Al-Husayn's Conversation with Ibn 'Abbas

When [al-Husayn (as)] decided to go to Kufah, Ibn 'Abbas came to him and said: "O my cousin, the people have spread rumours that you are advancing towards Iraq, so ".[please] explain to me what you intend to do

Al-Husayn (as)] replied: "I am determined to leave in the coming one or two days(۳), if] ".Allah wills

Ibn 'Abbas said to him: "I then seek refuge for you with Allah in this regard. Tell me, may Allah have mercy on you, are you moving towards a people who have [already] killed their governor and taken control of their city and have expelled their enemy? If they have done all this [and prepared the grounds], then go to them. But if they are [inviting you] while they are still under the subjugation of their governor and his officers are collecting taxes from [them], then they have certainly invited you to war and fighting. I fear that they will deceive you, lie to you, oppose and abandon you, and

that they may [even] fight against you and prove to be the most severe people against you!"

Al-Husayn (as) replied: "I pray to Allah for the best and I will see what is going to happen."(۴)

A Second Conversation with Ibn 'Abbas

In the evening [of that day] or the next morning Ibn 'Abbas once again came to the Imam (as)

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۱ - Al-Tabari (۵:۳۸۳): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Harith bin Ka'b al-Walibi has related to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'an that..."

۲ - The mental attitude and the treacherous and hypocritical nature of these people was not concealed from the Imam (as), but he could not express what he knew of his fate to everyone who met him. One cannot reveal all one knows, especially after taking into consideration the difference in the level of understanding of the people. Therefore, the Imam (as) used to reply everyone according to his capacity of understanding. It should be observed here that Ibn al-Zubair was not against the rising of the Imam (as), as he motivated him to do that. His only point was about the time and place of rising.

۳- Since the Imam [a'] departed from Makkah in the afternoon of the Day of Tarwiyah [i.e. eight of Dhu al-Hijjah] as the pilgrims were heading towards Mina (۵:۳۸۵), this conversation with Ibn 'Abbas must have taken place on the sixth day of Dhu al-Hijjah. Thus, the news of the Imam's intention to leave for Iraq must have spread among the people at most two days before this, that is, on the fourth; and there is nothing to indicate that anything was known about his journey earlier than that. So what happened during these days that made the Imam (as) leave on the Day of Tarwiyah and before the completion of the hajj, after having stayed in the city for [more than] four months? Yes, Muslim had sent a letter [to the Imam (as)] ۲۷ days before his martyrdom, that is on the ۲۰th of Dhu al-Qa'dah -and since it took around ten days for

a letter to reach [Makkah from Kufah] in those days, the letter must have reached the Imam (as) towards the end of this month or in the beginning of Dhu al-Hijjah-, but still that does not suffice as a reason for him not to complete the hajj which would have taken another four days only! Farazdaq, the poet, had asked the Imam (as) about this saying: "What made you leave the hajj incomplete?" "I would have been caught had I not hurried", he replied (al-Tabari:۵:۳۸۶). And this is why Shaikh al-Mufid says: "When al-Husayn (as) intended to leave for Iraq, he circumambulated the Ka'bah and performed the sa'y between Safa and Marwa and came out of his ihram and concluded his hajj as 'umrah; for he was unable to complete (tamam) the pilgrimage in fear of being caught and taken to Yazid bin Mu'awiyah. Hence, the Imam (as) immediately departed from Makkah (al-Irshad, pg.۲۱۸). Mu'awiyah bin 'Ammar narrates from Imam al-Sadiq (as) that: "Al-Husayn (as) performed 'umrah in the month of Dhu al-Hijjah and set off to Iraq on the Day of Tarwiyah while the pilgrims were heading to Mina. There is no objection in performing 'umrah in [the month of] Dhu al-Hijja for one who does not intend to perform hajj." Ibrahim bin 'Umar al-Yamani narrates that he asked al-Sadiq (as) about a person who goes to 'umrah during the months of hajj and then returns back to his city [without performing hajj]. The Imam (as) replied: "There is no objection." He then continued till he said: "Husayn bin 'Ali (as) set out for Iraq on the Day of Tarwiyah while he had [only] performed 'umrah." (Wasa'il al-Shi'ah:۱۰:۲۴۶) It is for this very reason that Shaikh al-Shushtari says: "They made every effort to catch him or assassinate him, even if he was found clinging to the covering of the Ka'bah! Therefore, he changed his decision and performed 'umrah al-mufradah and had to leave the hajj (Khasa'is al-Husayniyyah: pg.۳۲; Tabriz edition). In A'lam al-Wara, in a separate section allocated for the reports on the journey of Imam [al-Husayn (as)] and his martyrdom, Shaikh al-Tabrasi brings approximately the same particular section which has appeared in al-Irshad of Shaikh al-Mufid, without any mention of it. Al-Tabrasi quotes, as it is, what al-Mufid said except for the phrase 'tamam al-hajj' where he says 'itmam al-hajj'. The latter phrase is incorrect –and the error might probably have been from the transcribers [of al-Tabrasi's work], since there is a clear difference [in meaning] between the two [phrases]; for the word itmam, unlike tamam, implies that the Imam (as) had actually put on the ihram for hajj. However, it is equally probable that there are

inconsistencies in the different copies of al-Irshad itself; for Shaikh al-Qarashi (۳:۵۰) quotes al-Mufid from al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۳), in the same manner as al-Tabrasi has done, by bringing the phrase itmam al-hajj; while in the Haidariyyah edition of al-Irshad (pg.۲۱۸), we find the phrase tamam al-hajj, which is correct.

۴- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۸۳): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Harith bin Ka'b al-Walibi narrated to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'an that..." It is worthy of note here that Ibn 'Abbas was not opposed to the rising of the Imam (as), rather he was doubting the establishment of the necessary grounds for it, and the Imam (as) does not refute him in this regard, as it is evident.

and said: "O my cousin! I tried to remain patient but could not. Indeed, I am apprehensive of your death and annihilation should you take this direction! The people of Iraq are a treacherous community, so never get closer to them! Stay in this city for you are the master of the people of Hijaz. If at all the people of Iraq want you - as they have claimed, then write and ask them to [first] expel their enemy [from their city], then make a move towards them. But if you still want to leave [this city], then go to Yemen; for it has got fortresses and mountain paths, and it is a vast and spacious land. From there you can send out your men to invite people to support you. I hope that in this way you can achieve your aim in a safer way."

Al-Husayn (as) answered him: "My cousin, Verily, By Allah I know that you are sincere(۱) and caring but I have resolved on the journey!"

Ibn 'Abbas then said: "Now that you are going, do not take your women and young children with you, for -by Allah- I fear that you might get killed."(۲)

His Conversation with 'Umar al-Makhzumi

Umar bin 'Abd al-Rahman bin Harith bin Hisham al-Makhzumi(۳) says: "When al-Husayn (as) was ready for the journey towards Iraq, I came to him, praised and glorified Allah, and then said: "My cousin, I have come to give you a piece of advice. If you are ready to accept my advice, [then that is fine],

The Imam (as) wanted to show that he knew that what Ibn 'Abbas said was out of -۱ sincerity, care and love [for him]. So he is not against the rising of the Imam (as), rather he doubts the fulfillment of the necessary conditions for it. The Imam (as) also does not refute him in what he said, instead he tells him that even in this case he is determined to rise; because he had felt the necessity to rise for the sake of the .continuation of the divine Shari'ah

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۸۳): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Harith bin Ka'b al-Walibi related to me from -۲ "...'Uqbah bin Sim'an that

Al-Tabari: He was appointed by Ibn al-Zubair as the governor of Kufah during the -۳ time of Mukhtar in ۶۶ H. He had sent Zaidah bin Qudamah al-Thaqafi towards Mukhtar with five hundred men and seventy thousand dirhams in order to drive him back by offering him the money, or to fight him in case he rejected that. So Mukhtar accepted the money and went to Basrah (۶:۷۱). What 'Umar is narrating here of the Imam's commendation about him is actually being reported by himself [and does not carry much weight]. His grandfather was Harith bin Hisham, the brother of Abu Jahl bin Hisham, who was the enemy of the Holy Prophet (S). We have mentioned about him in .the introduction

".otherwise I will restrain myself from what I intend to say

Al-Husayn (as) said: "Say [what you want to say]. For by Allah, I do not consider you a ".person with unsound opinions, or evil intentions and deeds

He then said: "I have come to learn that you intend to go to Iraq, but I am concerned about you should you undertake this journey. You are moving towards a city which has its [own] rulers and governers and who have treasure houses at their disposal. Indeed people are slaves of these dirhams and dinars. I fear that those people will come to fight you who have promised you their support and to whom you are more ".beloved than the one they will be fighting for against you

Al-Husayn (as) replied: "May Allah reward you with good, O my cousin. By Allah, I know that you have given [me] a good advice and have spoken with wisdom. But whatever is decreed shall come to pass. I consider you a praiseworthy and sincere adviser,

(whether I act on your advice or not."(١)

His Last Conversation with Ibn al-Zubair

Abdullah bin Sulaim [al-Asadi] and Mudhri bin Mushma'il [al-Asadi] say: "We set out to' Makkah as pilgrims and entered [the city on] the Day of Tarwiyah. [We were in Masjid al-Haram] when we suddenly saw al-Husayn (as) and 'Abdullah bin al-Zubair standing between the [black] stone and the door of the Ka'bah. So we drew near them and heard Ibn al-Zubair saying to al-Husayn (as): "If you like to stay [in Makkah], you can

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Al-Tabari (۵:٣٨٢): "Hisham narrates from Abu Mikhnaf that: "Saq'ab bin Zuhair - ١ "...[related to me from 'Umar bin 'Abd al-Rahman [saying

do so and assume the leadership [as well]. We shall support and help you, be sincere ".to you and pay allegiance to you

Al-Husayn (as) replied him: "Indeed, my father informed me that: 'A ram (kabsh) in (Makkah shall violate the sanctity of [the haram].' So I do not like to be that ram!"(١),(٢

So Ibn al-Zubair said to him: "Get closer to me O son of Fatimah, so al-Husayn (as) lent his ear to him and he whispered something to him. ['Abdullah and Mudhri say that] al-"?Husayn (as) then turned to us and said: "Do you know what Ibn al-Zubair is saying

.We do not know, may Allah make us your ransom", we said"

Al-Husayn (as)] said: "He told me: 'Stay in this mosque and I will gather the people] "'.around you

Then al-Husayn (as) said: "By Allah, it is more lovable for me to be killed a span away from the [haram] than to be killed inside it by just a span! I swear by Allah, even if I were to be in the hole of an insect, [these people] will pull me out [of it] in order to get what they want from me. By Allah, I shall be wronged [and the law of Allah be violated (in my regard] as the Jews had violated the [sanctity of the] Sabbath."(٣),(۴

The Stand of 'Amru bin Sa'id al-Ashdaq

When al-Husayn (as) was departing from Makkah, the messengers of 'Amru bin Sa'id bin al-Ass(۵)

led by Yahya bin Sa'id (۶) sought to block his way. They said to him: "Withdraw! Where are you going?",

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۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۸۴): "Abu Minkhaf says: 'Abu Janab Yahya bin Abi Hayyah narrated to me from 'Adiyy bin Harmalah al-Asadi who related from 'Abdullah that..."

۲- Kabsh is a male sheep who most of the time moves ahead of a flock. It is for this reason that 'leaders' are usually likened to it. By this speech, the Imam (as) intended to remind Ibn al-Zubair only if it were to benefit him, "For admonition indeed benefits the faithful."

۳- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۸۵): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'I report from Abu Sa'id 'Aqisa, who narrated from some of his companions..."

۴- This is the best and the shortest reply by which the Imam (as) answered all the questions raised upto this point; this was by indicating that he was being [constantly] pursued wherever he went and that he was going to be attacked. Therefore, he decided to leave Makkah avoiding to become the ram mentioned by his father, the Commander of the Faithful (as). He thus left Makkah for this very reason fleeing with his family lest the sanctity of [the haram] be violated with his blood. If he was to depart from Makkah, then the best course for him was to proceed to Kufah and attend to the needs of his followers (shi'ah), thus, leaving no room for any excuse on their part, "so that mankind may not have any argument against Allah, after the [sending of the] apostles" (Qur'an, ۴:۱۶۵), and so that no one should say: "Why did you not send us a messenger as a warner, and appoint for us a guide so that we would have followed your signs." If he did not go to Kufah, where else could he go, when the earth had become narrow for him inspite of its expanse?

۵- Al-Tabari: When 'Amru bin Sa'id became the governor of Madinah he summoned 'Ubaidullah bin Abi Rafi' – the scribe of 'Ali bin Abi Talib– and asked him: "Who is your

master?" "The Messenger of Allah", he replied. So he whipped him hundred lashes. Again 'Amru asked him: "Whose slave are you?" and he answered: "The Messenger of Allah." So he whipped him another hundred lashes. Every time 'Amru asked him the question he received the same answer from 'Ubaidullah until he had whipped him ۵۰۰ lashes. When 'Amru repeated his question [for the sixth time,] 'Ubaidullah replied: "Your slave" [and so he left him]. [After sometime,] when 'Abd al-Malik killed 'Amru bin Sa'id, 'Ubaidullah bin Abi Rafi' composed a poem thanking his killer. 'Abu Rafi' was [once] the slave of Abu Ahyahah Sa'id bin al-Ass -the older. After him his sons inherited Abu Rafi' from him. Three of these sons freed their portion of his servitude all of whom were killed in the battle of Badr. Khalid bin Sa'id [the fourth of the brothers] gifted his share of Abu Rafi' to the Messenger of Allah (S) and the Prophet freed him (۳:۱۷۰). 'Amru bin Sa'id was the one who fought Ibn al-Zubair (۵:۳۴۳) and lashed between fourty to sixty times each of those who were fond of Ibn al-Zubair in Madinah, among them being Muhammad bin 'Ammar bin Yasir (۵:۳۴۴). 'Amru rejoiced when the news of al-Husayn's martyrdom reached him. When he heard the wails of the women of Banu Hashim as they mourned al-Husayn (as) he said: "These cries are in compensation for the cries on 'Uthman bin 'Affan!" Then, he ascended the pulpit and announced the news (۵:۴۶۶). [Later,] Yazid was informed that 'Amru bin Sa'id was treating Ibn al-Zubair with kindness, so he dismissed him [from his position] in Dhu al-Hijjah of ۶۱ H (۵:۴۷۷). As a result, 'Amru went to Yazid and apologized to him (۵:۴۷۹). His .(father was Sa'id bin al-Ass, Mu'awiyah's governor in Madinah (۵:۲۴۱

۶- Al-Tabari: He was the brother of 'Amru bin Sa'id. On the day 'Amru was killed in the palace of 'Abd al-Malik in Sham, Yahya came to his help with one thousand men from among his followers, servants and slaves but they were all defeated and Yahya was imprisoned. Later, he was freed and joined Ibn al-Zubair (۶:۱۴۳-۱۴۷). Then he went to Kufah and sought refuge with his maternal uncles from the tribe of Ju'fi. When 'Abd al-Malik entered Kufah and people paid him allegiance, he also swore allegiance to .(him and asked for protection (۶:۱۶۲

but he refused. The two groups came to blows and hit at each other with whips. Al-.Husayn (as) continued his journey

Then they called out: “O Husayn! Do you not fear Allah?! You are detaching yourself from the community and [trying] to cause division within this nation!”

In reply, al-Husayn (as) recited the following verses: “My deeds belong to me and your deeds belong to you; you are absolved of what I do and I am absolved of what you do.”(1),(2)

Ali bin al-Husayn bin ‘Ali [(as), i.e. the fourth Imam] says: “When we left Makkah‘ ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far bin Abi Talib (3) sent a letter to Husayn bin ‘Ali (as) with his two sons: ‘Aun and Muhammad(4) [saying]:

“I ask you for the sake of Allah to return as you receive my letter; for I am very concerned because the direction in which you are heading will have within it your destruction and the extirpation of your family. If you are destroyed today, the light of [guidance on] the earth will be extinguished; for you are the standard of the [rightly] guided ones and the hope of the believers. Do not hurry on your journey as I am following this letter. That is all.”

[In the meanwhile,] ‘Abdullah bin Ja’far went to see ‘Amru bin Sa’id bin al-Ass and talk[ed] to him and said: “Write a letter to al-Husayn (as) and guarantee him protection and promise him kind treatment [by being] trustful in your letter. Ask him to return, may be he will trust

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۱- Qur’an, ۱۰:۴۱.

۲- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۸۵): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Harith bin Ka’b al-Walibi narrated to me from ‘Uqbah bin Sim’an that...”

۳- Al-Tabari: He was with the Commander of the Faithful in the battle of Jamal and assisted him in taking ‘Aishah back to Madinah (۴:۵۱۰). ‘Abdullah was among those whom the Commander of the Faithful used to consult when he was in Kufah and it was him who proposed to [‘Ali (as)] to appoint Muhammad bin Abi Bakr over Egypt. Muhammad was the half brother of ‘Abdullah through his mother (۴:۵۵۴). He was with [‘Ali] in Siffin and used to constantly protect him by moving ahead of him (۵:۱۴۸).

'Abdullah accompanied al-Hasan (as) [also] in his movement (۵:۱۶۰) and returned to Madinah with both of them [i.e. 'Ali and al-Hasan] (۵:۱۶۵). His two sons Muhammad and 'Aun were with al-Husayn (as) [in Karbala']. When he received the news of their martyrdom, he said: "By Allah, had I witness their fight, I would have loved not to part .(from them until I was killed with them" (۵:۴۶۶

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۹): They were martyred along with al-Husayn (as). With regard to - ۴ 'Aun, his mother was Jamanah, the daughter of Musayyib bin Najabah al-Fazari who was among the leaders of the Tawwabun movement. As for Muhammad, his mother .was Khausa' bint Khasafah bin Thaqib from the tribe of Bakr bin Wa'il

your word and return. Send the letter with your brother Yahya bin Sa'id; for [al-Husayn] will have confidence in him more than [any other person] and will ".acknowledge that you are serious

".Amru bin Sa'id said: "Write what you like and then bring it to me for the stamp'

:So 'Abdullah bin Ja'far wrote

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From 'Amru bin Sa'id to" Husayn bin 'Ali: I pray to Allah to save you from what shall cause your destruction and guide you to what shall lead you to the right course. I have come to learn that you have set out for Iraq. I warn you against [causing] discord; for I fear that you will be destroyed because of that. I am sending to you 'Abdullah bin Ja'far and Yahya bin Sa'id, so come to me along with them and you shall be given protection and treated with kindness and enjoy [my] good neighbourhood. And I take Allah to be a witness, a ".guarantor, a guardian and a protector for [all I have said]. Peace be upon you

Abdullah then brought the letter to 'Amru bin Sa'id and said: "Seal it" and he did so.' Thereafter, 'Abdullah and Yahya bin Sa'id [set out towards al-Husayn (as)] with the .letter. [When they reached,] Yahya read the letter to him

Al-Husayn (as) wrote [in reply]: "He who invites the people towards Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, and does good and says: I am one of the Muslims, has not stood in opposition

to Allah and his Messenger. Indeed you have invited [me] to [your] protection and kindness but the best protection (aman) is the protection of Allah. He will never grant His protection on the Day of Judgment to one who does not fear him in this world. We therefore pray to Allah to confer on us [his] fear in this world so that it may earn us His protection on the Day of Judgment. If by your letter you were intending to show [your] kindness and benevolence towards me, then may Allah reward you in this world and the hereafter. That is all."

Thereafter both of them returned to ['Umar bin Sa'id]. They said: "We read the letter to him and tried our best [to convince him to return]. Among the excuses he put forward to us was that: "I have seen the Messenger of Allah (S) in a dream and I have been commanded in it with a task which I am [now] advancing to carry it out, be it against me or in my favour."

They asked him: "What was the dream about?"

Al-Husayn (as)] replied: "I have not told anyone of it and I am not going to tell anyone] until I meet my Lord!"(۱),(۲)

The Stations On The Way To Kufah

Tan'im

Al-Husayn (as) continued with his journey until he passed by Tan'im (۳). There he met a caravan which had been sent to Yazid bin Mu'awiyah and was headed by Buhair bin Raisan al-Himyari(۴), Yazid's governor in Yemen. The caravan was carrying waras (۵) and Yemeni dresses to

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۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۸۸): "Abu Mikhnaf Says: 'Harith bin Ka'b al-Walibi narrated to me from 'Ali bin al-Husayn that..."

۲- The Imam (as) could not disclose what he knew of his fate to anyone who met him;

for one cannot reveal all one knows, especially after taking into consideration the difference in the level of understanding of the people. Therefore, the Imam (as) used to reply everyone according to his capacity of understanding. The Imam (as) revealed to these people the actual answer when he said: "He who invites the people towards Allah, the Almighty, the Sublime, and does good... has not stood in opposition to Allah and his Messenger... the best protection is the protection of Allah. He shall never grant protection on the Day of Judgment to one who does not fear him in this world. We therefore pray to Allah to confer on us [his] fear in this world so that it may earn us His protection on the Day of Judgment." But since these people were not convinced by this answer from him, he instead told them that he was commissioned with a task in a dream in which he saw the Holy Prophet (S). Yet he did not reveal to them the actual dream but contented himself by saying: "I will not disclose it until I meet my Lord." It was probably from here that Ahmad bin al-A'tham al-Kufi (d.۳۱۰ H) talked of the dream of the Imam (as) at the grave of his grandfather, the Prophet of Allah (S), in Madinah. But where is this from ?, when the Imam (as) himself said that he was not going to reveal it [to anyone] until he meets his Lord! Therefore, [Ibn al-A'tham] is .solely responsible for what he has said. And Allah knows best about this

Mu'jam al-Buldan (۲:۴۱۶) reports that Tan'im is a place two farsakh away from -۳ Makkah. There is a hill on its right known as Na'im and another one on its left called Na'im, and the valley itself is known as Na'iman. There is also a mosque there and beside that it is the nearest miqat and the closest point where the holy sanctuary ends (hill). Today it is located six kilometres from Makkah and therefore it is only one farsakh away from it, and not two. It is connected to Makkah for those who enter the .city on the way from Madinah and Jiddah

Al-Tabari: It seems that he was an astrologer and had augured ill for 'Abdullah bin -۴ Muti' al-'Adawi when he was sent to Kufah as the governer by Ibn al-Zubair (۹:۶). The renowned Tawus al-Yamani was his master who died in Makkah in the year ۱۰۵ H .((۶:۲۹

Al-wars is a sesame-like plant used for dying and from which saffron is collected -۵ .and which is not found except in Yemen

.Yazid

Al-Husayn (as) took the things [from them] and continued with his journey. He then :told the owners of the camels

I will not force you; whoever [among you] wishes to come with us to Iraq, we will pay" his hire in full and be a good company for him. [But] whoever wishes to part with us ".right from this place, we will pay his hire for the distance he has travelled

Those among them who left him, [their account] was settled and he paid them in full. Those of them who accompanied him, he gave them their hire and [also] clothed (them.(١

Sifah

:Abdullah bin Salim [al-Asadi] and Mudhri [bin Mushma'il al-Asadi] report'

We moved on until we reached al-Sifah(٢) where we met Farazdaq bin Ghalib(٣), the" poet, who came near al-Husayn (as) and said to him: "May Allah grant you your ".[request and [fulfil] your hope in what you love [to achieve

"?Al-Husayn (as) asked him: "Tell me about the people you have left behind you

Farazdaq replied: "You have asked one who is well-informed. The hearts of the people are with you but their swords are with the Banu Umayyah. [Verily,] the divine ".decree comes from the heaven and Allah does what He wishes

Al-Husayn (as) said to him: "You have said the truth. The affair (amr) belongs to Allah. Allah does what he wills. 'Every day our Lord manifests [Himself] in a [new] splendour'. If the decree is as we like, then we praise Allah for his blessings and He is the one whose help

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Al-Tabari (٥:٣٨٥): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Harith bin Ka'b al-Walibi narrated to me from -١ "...'Uqbah bin Sim'an that

It is located between Hunain and the points which identify the sanctuary of the -٢

.[haram. It is situated on the left of one who enters the city of Makkah [from Mushash

Al-Tabari: He is Hamam bin Ghalib bin Sa'sa'ah. His two uncles were Dhuhail and -۳ Zahaf, who were in the treasury office (diwan) of Ziyad bin Sumayyah, each being in charge of a thousand people. Farazdaq had mocked the Banu Nahshal and Faqim, so they sued him before Ziyad and the latter summoned Farazdaq but he fled. Whenever Ziyad would come to Basrah, Farazdaq would go to Kufah, and if Ziyad was to come to Kufah, he would go to Basrah. Ziyad used to stay in Basrah and Kufah each for six months. Farazdaq then went to Hijaz seeking refuge with Sa'id bin al-'Ass from Ziyad until the latter died (۵:۲۴۲-۲۵۰). Farazdaq scorned at Ziyad and one who elegized him, saying: "You are mourning a disbeliever from the family of Sufyan, who was like Choesroe or Ceaser in aggression" (۵:۲۹۰). Farazdaq then returned to Basrah and resided in the city. He went to hajj with his mother in the year ۶۰ H and this is why he did not accompany al-Husayn (as) (۵:۳۸۶). Later, he composed a poem in praise of Hajjaj! (۶:۳۸۰-۳۹۴) and was among the courtiers of Sulaiman bin 'Abd al-Malik (۵:۵۴۸). Farazdaq was alive till the year ۱۰۲ H (۶:۶۱۶). At the time when he mocked at the Banu Nahshal he was a young man, rather a bedouin young boy residing in the desert (۵:۲۴۲). Therefore, he must have been less than thirty years old when he met al-.(Husayn (as

is sought in order to give thanks to him. But if fate hampers [the fulfilment of our] hopes, then he whose intention is [to attain the] truth (haqq) and whose heart is [filled ".[with] God-conciousness (taqwa) is never concerned [about that

Thereafter, al-Husayn (as) set his mount in motion and said [to Farazdaq]: "Peace be (upon you" and then they parted. (۱),(۲

When 'Ubaydullah bin Ziyad learnt of the journey of al-Husayn (as) from Makkah to Kufah, he sent Husayn bin Tamim [al-Tamimi], the head of his bodyguards, to al-Qadisiyyah.(۳) [Al-Tamimi] stationed at this place and set up a [protective] link of cavalry between [the area of] al-Qadisiyyah to Khaffan,(۴) and [the area of] al-(Qadisiyyah to Qutqutanah(۵) and La'la'.(۶

Al-Husayn (as) went on with his journey until when he reached al-Hajir(٧), which is situated in Batn al-Rumma, he sent Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi with a letter to the people of Kufah. He wrote to them:

"In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. From Husayn bin 'Ali to his brothers from among the believers and the Muslims; peace be on you. I praise Allah beside who there is no deity except Him. Muslim bin 'Aqil's letter came to me, informing me of your sound opinion and the agreement of your people to support us and to seek our right. I have asked Allah to make your actions good and reward you with the greatest reward. I have set out to you from Makkah on Tuesday, eight of Dhu al-Hijjah, the Day of Tarwiyah.

١- Al-Tabari (٥:٣٨۶): "Abu Mikhnaf says: "[I narrate] on the authority of Abu Janab from 'Adiyy bin Harmalah who related from 'Abdullah bin Salim that..." This report of Ibn Salim and Ibn Mushma'il is not in consistance with what we shall narrate from them that they joined al-Husayn (as) at a point called Zarud, which is located a several stations after Sifah on the way to Kufah. Unless we say that they meant by the statement: "We moved on until we reached Sifah..." that they moved on from Kufah and reached Sifah on their way to Makkah, and then, after finishing the hajj rituals, they joined al-Husayn (as) at Zarud.

٢- Al-Tabari says: "Hisham has narrated on the authority of 'Awanah bin Hakam from Lubtah bin al-Farazdaq bin Ghalib who reported from his father that he said: 'I went to hajj in the year ۶٠ H and entered the holy sanctuary during the days of pilgrimage. I met Husayn bin 'Ali outside Makkah, so I approached and asked him: 'May my father and mother be your ransom, O son of the Messenger of Allah! What made you to rush and leave the pilgrimage [incomplete]?' He replied: 'If I do not rush I will be caught.' Then al-Husayn asked me: 'Where are you from?' so I replied: 'I am from Iraq', and, by Allah, he did not inquire about me more than this. Then he continued: 'Tell me about the people behind you.' So I said: 'The hearts are with you and the swords are with the Banu Umayyah; and the decree is in the hands of Allah.' Al-Husayn (as) then

said: ‘You have said the truth.’ Then I asked him about some issues related to vowing ((nudhur) and hajj rituals, and he explained them to me.” (۵:۳۸۶

Al-Qadisiyyah is situated fifteen farsakh from Kufah and just four miles from ‘Adhib. -۳ It is also called al-Diwaniyyah as it was the first big city on the way to the deserts of Hijaz from Iraq. Al-Qadisiyyah was the first place in Iraq to be conquered by the .Muslims under the leadership of Sa’d bin Abi Waqqas

According to Mu’jam al-Buldan (۳:۴۵۱), Khaffan is a village near Kufah and contains a -۴ .water-spring owned by the Banu ‘Abbas

Qutqutanah is some twenty miles away from al-Rahimah on the way to Kufah, as -۵ reported in Mu’jam al-Buldan (۷:۱۲۵). According to al-Ya’qubi (۲:۲۳۰; Najaf edition): “The ”.news of the martyrdom of Muslim reached the Imam at Qutqutanah

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۹۴): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Yunus bin Abi Ishaq al-Sabi’i narrated to me -۶ ”...saying

According to Mu’jam al-Buldan (۴:۲۹۰) and Taj al-‘Arus (۳:۱۳۹), al-Hajir is a valley in -۷ the highlands of Najd, whereas Batn al-Rummah is a point where travelers coming .from the cities of Kufah and Basrah meet on their way to Madinah

When my messenger reaches you, be urgent and serious in your affairs; for I am coming to you within the [next few] days, if Allah wills. Peace, mercy and blessings of ”.Allah be upon you

Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi set of for Kufah with al-Husayn’s letter. When Qais reached al-Qadisiyyah, Husayn bin Tamim arrested him and sent him to ‘Ubaidullah .bin Ziyad

”!Ibn Ziyad said to him: “Go on top of the palace and curse the liar son of the liar

He went up and said: “O people! Verily, Husayn bin ‘Ali -the best of Allah’s creatures- is the son of Fatimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah. I am his messenger to you. I parted with him at Hajir. Answer him.” Then he cursed ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad and his .father, and sought Allah’s mercy for ‘Ali bin Abi Talib

Hearing this from him,] ‘Ubaidullah ordered him to be thrown down from the top of] the palace. He was thrown down and his body crushed into pieces and he died. [May

(Allah have mercy on him].(1)

A Watering Place of the Arabs

Al-Husayn (as) continued to proceed towards Kufah till he arrived at a watering place of the Arabs where 'Abdullah bin Muti' al-'Adawi(2) happened to have camped. When he saw al-Husayn (as) he approached him and said: "May my father and mother be your ransom, O son of the Messenger of Allah! What has brought you [here]?"

Al-Husayn (as) answered him: "The people of Iraq have written to me calling me towards them."

Abdullah bin Muti' said: "O son of the Messenger'

1- Al-Tabari (5:394): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Muhammad bin Qais related to me [saying]..." Al-Mufid has reported the report in al-Irshad (pg.220) also, but he has confused the account of Ibn Qais with that of 'Abdullah bin Buqtur. The [above] report has also appeared in Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.245; Najaf edition].

2- His biography has appeared when mentioning the sources of this text.

of Allah, I remind you of Allah and the sanctity (hurmah) of Islam lest it be violated! By Allah, I implore you not to let the sanctity of the Messenger of Allah (S) be broken! I adjure you before Allah [to think] about the sacredness of the Arabs! For by Allah, if you seek that which is in the hands of the Banu Umayyah, they will surely kill you. If they kill you, they will never fear anyone after you.(1) By Allah, it is the sanctity of Islam which shall indeed be violated, and the sacredness of the Quraish and that of the Arabs. Do not do that and do not go to Kufah. Do not expose yourself to the Banu Umayyah."

But [al-Husayn (as)] insisted on continuing with the journey.

Khuzaimiyyah

Al-Husayn (as) proceeded till he reached a watering place somewhere above Zarud(۲) ([known as al-Khuzaimiyyah].(۳

(Zuhair bin al-Qain Joins al-Husayn (as

A man from Banu Fazarah reports that: "We were with Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajali when we left Makkah. [Although] we were travelling alongside al-Husayn (as), there was nothing more hateful to us than that we should stop with him at a halting place. Such that when al-Husayn (as) would start out, Zuhair bin al-Qain would linger behind, and whenever al-Husayn (as) would halt, Zuhair would move ahead, until we reached a station where we could not avoid halting with him. Al-Husayn (as) halted at one side and we halted at the other side. While we were sitting, eating our food, al-Husayn's messenger approached us, greeeted us and

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۱ - The sancitity of Islam or that of the Messenger of Allah [s], the Arabs, or of the Quraish was not violated because of the move of the Imam (as), rather it was violated because of the actions of the enemies of Islam. Ibn Muti' was indeed mistaken when he said: "...If they kill you, [then] they would not fear anyone else after you..." For in contrary to what Ibn Muti' was thinking, even those among the people of Makkah, Madinah and Kufah who could not dare oppose the Banu Umayyah before the Imam's martyrdom, became daring after that, including Ibn Muti' himself as he ruled over Kufah for Ibn al-Zubair. Rather, if it was not for al-Husayn's movement, no one could dare stand against the Banu Umayyah and they would, accordingly, have done all .[they wanted to destroy Islam [without encountering any opposition

۲ - Al-Tabari (۵:۳۹۴): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Muhammad bin Qais related to me that...' He .is, perhaps, Ibn Qais bin Musahhar

۳ - Al-Khuzaimiyyah is situated before Zarud as one comes from Makkah, and after it for one who comes from Kufah as reported in Mu'jam al-Buldan. It has also been said that al-Khuzaimiyyah is thirty-two miles from Tha'labiyyah, as it is one of the stopping .points of the pilgrims coming from Kufah after Tha'labiyyah

entered [our tent]. He said: "O Zuhair bin al-Qain! Abu 'Abdillah Husayn bin 'Ali has sent

me to summon you to him." [Here] each one of us threw away what was in his hands in amazement; it was [as surprising] as if birds had alighted on our heads.(۱)

Dalham bint 'Amru, Zuhair's wife, says: "I said to him: "The son of the Prophet of Allah has sent for you and you are not going to him?! Glory be to Allah! Go to him and see what he says, and then come back."

So Zuhair bin al-Qain went to see him. It was not long before he returned joyfully while his countenance was glowing.

Then he said to his companions: "Whoever among you wishes to follow me [may do so], otherwise this is the last time [we see each other]! I will tell you a story: 'We participated in the expedition of Balanjar(۲) and Allah granted us victory and we won booty. Salman al-Bahili said(۳): 'Are you happy with the victory which Allah has granted you and the booty you won?' We replied: 'Yes.' Then he said to us: 'If you met the young men from the family of Muhammad (S), then be happier to fight with them than you are because of the booty you have obtained today.' As for me, I leave you [all] to Allah's protection!"

Then he told his wife: "You are divorced. Go back to your family; for I do not want anything to befall you because of me except

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۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۹۶): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Al-Siddi narrated to me from a person among the Banu Fazarah saying: 'During the time of Hajjaj bin Yusuf we used to hide in the house of Zuhair bin al-Qain al-Bajali, as the people of Sham would not enter it. So [one day] I said to this man from the Banu Fazarah: 'Tell me about your journey with Husayn bin 'Ali.' He said..." See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۱) and al-Maqtal (pg.۳۲۵) of al-Khwarazmi.

۲- A city around the Caspian sea at Bab al-Abwab which was conquered in the year ۳۳ H, during the reign of 'Uthman bin 'Affan, at the hands of Salman bin Rabi'ah al-Bahili. See Mu'jam al-Buldan.

۳- Al-Tabari (۴:۳۰۵) says: Both Salman al-Farsi and Abu Hurairah were among the

conquerors of Balanjar. Ibn al-Athir clearly says in al-Kamil (۴:۱۷) that the one who spoke to them [about the young men of the family of Muhammad] was Salman al-Farsi, not Salman al-Bahili. This is keeping in mind that the aim of Ibn al-Athir in writing al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh was to supplement Tarikh al-Tabari, and for this very reason he quotes most of his reports from al-Tabari. Among others who have asserted that it was Salman al-Farsi [and not al-Bahili] are al-Mufid in al-Irshad, al-Fatal in Rawdhat al-Wa'i³in (pg.۱۵۳), Ibn Nama in Muthir al-Ahzan (pg.۲۳), al-Khwarazmi in al-Maqtal (۱:۲۷۵) and al-Bakri in al-Mu'jam min-ma Ustu'jima (۱:۳۷۶). This assertion is also supported by al-Tabari's report that Salman al-Farsi was present in the expedition. However, what has been said here does not seem to be correct; for what is apparent is that Salman al-Farsi was the governer of Madain after it was conquered in the year ۱۷ H and did not leave the city for any other expedition until he .died; and also that he passed away before this [expedition] during the time of 'Umar

(good."(۱),(۲

Somewhere on the way [to Kufah], Al-Husayn (as) dispatched 'Abdullah bin Buqtur al-Himyari(۳) to Muslim bin 'Aqil(۴), but he was arrested by the soldiers of Husayn bin Tamim at al-Qadisiyyah. He sent him to Ibn Ziyad who said to him: "Go to the top of the palace and curse the liar son of the liar. Then come down and I will give my "!judgment on you

So he went up. He said while he was looking down at the people: "O people! I am the messenger of al-Husayn, son of Fatimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allah (S). [He is asking] you to help and support him against the son of Marjanah, son of Sumayyah, "!the bastard

Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad] ordered him to be thrown from the top of the palace. He [fell on' the ground and] broke his bones but was still breathing. Then 'Abd al-Malik bin 'Umair .(al-Lakhami(۵) came to him and slaughtered him (dhabahahu

Zarud

(Zarud(۶

:Abdullah bin Salim [al-Asadi] and Mudhri bin Mushma'il [al-Asadi] report'

After we finished the pilgrimage, there was no concern more important to us than to" join al-Husayn (as) on the way, so that we may see how his affair develops. So we (speedily set off on our camels until we joined him at Zarud.(٧

As we neared him, we saw a man from Kufah who changed his way when he saw al-Husayn (as). Al-Husayn (as) had stopped as if he wanted [to speak] to him, but then he ignored him and went on. One of us said to

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Al-Tabari (٥:٣٩۶): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Dalham bint 'Amru, Zuhair bin al-Qain's wife, -١ .(narrated to me that..."See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٢١

It will be known later from the speech of Zuhair in Karbala' that he was angry right -٢ from the beginning about Mu'awiyah's declaration of Ziyad as his brother and his .killing of Hujr bin 'Adiyy

His mother was a nurse-maid of al-Husayn (as) and this is why it has been said -٣ about him that he is al-Husayn's foster brother. The word 'Buqtur' has appeared with the letter 'ba' in al-Tabari and so has been recorded by al-Jazari in al-Kamil. But our masters (mashaikh) like al-Samawi in Ibsar al-'Ain (pg.٥٢) have recorded it with the letter 'ya' (Yuqtur). We shall later see that the news of al-Yuqtur's martyrdom reached the Imam (as) at a point called Zabalah; that is before he received the news of the martyrdom of al-Saidawi. Therefore, it seems that Ibn Yuqtur was sent [to .[Muslim bin 'Aqil] before al-Saidawi [was dispathecd to the people of Kufah

Al-Tabari (٥:٣۴٨): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Abu 'Ali al-Ansari narrated to me from Bakr bin -۴ Mus'ab al-Muzniyy [saying]..." Al-Irshad (pg.٢٢٠) has related the report also, but he .confused the report of Ibn Yuqtur with that of Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi

Al-Lakhami took up the judgeship in Kufah after al-Sha'bi, and died in ١٣۶ H at the -٥ age of hundred and three, as reported in Mizan al-I'tidal (١:١٥١) and Tahdhib al-Asma' .((pg.٣٠٩

Zarud is located between al-Khuzaimiyyah and al-Tha'labiyyah on the way to -۶ .(Kufah. See Mu'jam al-Buldan (۴:٣٢٧

This report is inconsistent with what has been narrated from them earlier about – ٧ their meeting Farazdaq at Sifah, which is several stations before Zarud; for according to this report they joined al-Husayn (as) at Zarud and not before that. It was, however, not possible for them to join him at Sifah if they were to complete their hajj, for Sifah is situated in the beginning of the way [to Kufah] while the Imam (as) had left [Makkah] on the Day of Tarwiyah. Therefore, if they had joined him at Sifah, [then] they could not have completed their hajj. [And since they left Makkah after the completion of hajj, then this implies that they joined him at Zarud]. What is surprising here is that the narrators of both the reports were they themselves, but neither Abu Janab, nor Abu Mikhnaf, nor Tabari could realize the contrariety in the reports. Unless we reconcile between the two reports by saying that they met al-Husayn (as) at Sifah .before the hajj and then joined him at Zarud after the pilgrimage

the other: 'Come with us to ask this man. If he has news of Kufah, we will get to know '.it

'.We went to him and said: 'Peace be upon you

".[He replied: 'Peace and mercy of Allah be on you [too

'?Then we asked him: 'Which tribe do you come from

'.He said: '[I am] an Asadi

'?We said: 'We are from the Banu Asad as well. What is your name

.He said: 'I am Bukair bin al-Matha'bah.' We [also] told him our lineage

'.Then we asked him: 'Tell us about the people you have left behind you

He answered: 'I only left Kufah after Muslim bin 'Aqil and Hani' bin 'Urwah had been ".killed. I saw them being dragged by their legs in the market

Ibn Salim and Mushma'il] continue: "We went on to al-Husayn (as) and we were] .travelling close to him until he stopped

Tha’labiyyah

He stopped at al-Tha’labiyyah(١) in the evening. So we approached him when he stopped and greeted him. He returned our greeting. Then we said to him: ‘May Allah have mercy on you, we have a news. If you wish, we can say it publicly, and if you ’.wish, in privacy

Al-Husayn (as) looked at his companions and said: ‘Nothing is to be concealed from ’.[these [people

’?We said to him: ‘Did you see that rider who you confronted yesterday evening

’.He replied: ‘Yes, I wanted to inquire from him

We said: ‘We have collected for you the news that he had and spared you [the trouble ,of] questioning him. He was a man from the Asad

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١ - It comes after al-Shuquq for one traveling to Makkah from Kufah. It has been .named after a man from the Banu Asad known as Tha’labah. See Mu’jam al-Buldan

our [tribe], of sound judgement, truthful, of merit and intelligence. He told us that he had only left Kufah after Muslim bin ‘Aqil and Hani bin ‘Urwah had been killed, and he ’!had seen them being dragged by their legs in the market

Hearing this,] he said: ‘Indeed, we belong to Allah and to him do we indeed return’.] (May Allah’s mercy be on them both!’ He repeated this several times.(١

Then we said to him: ‘We implore you before Allah for your own life and for your family members that you should go back [right] from this point; for you have [now] no any helper or follower in Kufah. We are afraid that the [people of the] city will be ’!against you

On hearing this, the sons of ‘Aqil bin Abi Talib(٢) sprung up and said: ‘Nay, by Allah! We shall not leave until we have taken our vengeance, or have tasted what our brothers

(have tasted!'(3)

They continue with their report and say: "Al-Husayn (as) then looked at us and said; 'There is no good in life after these [men].'

So we knew that he is determined to continue with his journey. We said [to him]: 'May Allah choose the best for you.'

He replied: 'May Allah have mercy on you both.'

Then he waited till dawn when he told his young men and servants: 'Take plenty of water.' So they drew water and stored it in large quantities. Then they set out and went on until they reached Zubalah. (4)

Zubalah

There(5) he received the news

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1- What is apparent from this narration is that the news of Muslim's martyrdom had already spread by the time [the Imam (as)] reached this point. But as we shall see later, the Imam (as) informed his companions about this through a letter he read out to the people at Zubalah. Accordingly, it is highly probable that by his statement [at Tha'labiyyah]: "...Nothing is to be concealed from these people", the Imam (as) meant to say that "Apart from these people who are present, the news must be kept secret". Hence, it was not disclosed till at Zubalah. But according to al-Ya'qubi (2:230; Najaf edition), the news of Muslim's martyrdom reached the Imam (as) at Qutqutanah.

2- Al-Tabari (5:397): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Abu Janab al-Kalbi related to me on the authority of 'Adiyy bin Harmalah al-Asadi, from 'Abdullah that..." Al-Irshad (pg.222; Najaf edition) says: "'Abdullah bin Sulaiman reported that..."

3- Al-Tabari (5:397): "Abu Mikhnaf says: "Umar bin Khalid narrated to me on the authority of Zayd bin 'Ali bin al-Husayn, from Dawud bin 'Ali bin 'Abdullah bin 'Abbas who said that the sons of 'Aqil reported that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.222), Muruj al-Dhahab (3:70) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.245; Najaf edition).

۴- According to Mu'jam al-Buldan, Zubalah comes before al-Shuquq for one traveling to Makkah from Kufah. It contains fortresses and a large mosque belonging to the Banu Asad. Zubalah is, in fact, the name of a lady from the 'Amaliqah.

۵- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۹۸): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'I narrate on the authority of Abu Janab al-Kalbi from 'Adiyy bin Harmalah who related from 'Abdullah bin Salim that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۲; Najaf edition).

of the martyrdom of his foster brother, 'Abdullah bin Yuqtur. So he read out a written statement to the people and announced:

'In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Shocking news has reached us! The martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aqil, Hani bin 'Urwah and 'Abdullah bin Yuqtur. Our followers(۱) have indeed deserted us. So any of you who like to leave, may leave; we have freed him of all obligations.'

The people began to disperse from him to right and left until there remained with him only those of his companions who had come with him from Madinah.

He did that because the Bedouins who had followed him were thinking that he was going to a city where he was being steadfastly obeyed. And he disliked them to accompany him without being [fully] aware of what they were getting into. He well knew that if they were informed [of the reality], none would accompany him except he who is determined to help him and die beside him!(۲)

At dawn he ordered his young men [to get prepared], so they drew water and stored it in large quantities. Then he set out until he passed by Batn al-'Aqabah(۳).

Batn al-'Aqabah

He stopped at this point(۴) [and a man from the Banu 'Ikrimah told him saying:] 'I beseech you in the name Allah that you should return; for -by Allah- you are only advancing toward the points of spears and the edges of swords. If those who sent for you had spared you [the trouble of] fighting

This is a clear assertion from the Imam (as) that his followers in Kufah have - ١ betrayed him. This is the first announcement of the news about Kufah and the martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Aqil (as), though he had already received the news before this at Zarud, but it apparently remained disclosed -by the order of the Imam (as)- for other than those who were present around him at the time, until he announced it to .them at this point

This is the most complete answer as to why the Imam (as) allowed them to leave - ٢ .him, and it suffices from all other answers

.It is a station after Waqisah and before al-Qa' on the way to Makkah -٣

Al-Tabari (٥:٣٩٨): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Abu 'Ali al-Ansari narrated to me from Bakr bin -۴ .(Mus'ab al-Muzniyy that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٢٢; Najaf edition

and had prepared the ground for you, and then you had gone to them, [then] that would be reasonable. But in this situation that you are describing, I do not think that '.you ought to do so

Al-Husayn (as)] said to him: 'O servant of Allah! This [i.e. wise decision] is not hidden] from me. Your opinion is the [right] opinion. But Allah is never defeated in His affair.' (١) (Thereafter, he set out from there.(٢

Sharaf

Al-Husayn (as) went on till he stopped at Sharaf. (٣) At dawn he ordered his young men [to get prepared], so they took enough water with them and then left the place. They sped in their journey in the early hours of the day until it was midday. [Suddenly,] '!a man [from his followers] exclaimed: 'Allah is the greatest

'?Al-Husayn (as) said: '[Indeed,] Allah is greatest! [But] why did you say the takbir

'.He replied: 'I saw palm trees

Abdullah bin Salim and Mudhri bin Mushma'il] the two men from the Banu Asad said'] '.to him: 'This is a place in which we never see a palm-tree

'?[Al-Husayn (as) said: 'In your opinion what did he see [then

’.They replied: ‘We think he has seen the heads of horses

’.The [man] responded: ‘By Allah, I think so too

Dhu Husam

(Dhu Husam(۴

Here al-Husayn (as) said: ‘Is not there any shelter we can seek refuge to and put it at our rear, so that we can face the people in one direction [i.e. so that we are not ”?[surrounded

We said to him: ‘Yes, there is [the hill

p: ۱۶۲

According to al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۳), the Imam (as) then continued: “By Allah, they will -۱ not leave me until they take this beating [heart] out of my body. If they do so, then Allah will establish over them who will humiliate them until they become the most disgraced people of all nations.” The same has been reported in A’lam al-Wara .(pg.۲۳۲) also

Al-Tabari (۵:۳۹۹): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘Laudhan -one of the Banu ‘Ikrimah- related to -۲ ”’...me that one of his uncles narrated to him that

Sharaf is two miles from Waqisah and is situated before [one reaches] Iraq. Sa’d bin -۳ Abi Waqqas had stopped here before he reached al-Qadisiyyah. Sharaf is named after a person who was known by this name and had discovered a spring in the area. Later several huge wells producing sweet drinking water were dug in the area. See .Mu’jam al-Buldan

According to Mu’jam al-Buldan, it is the name of a hill where Nu’man used to go for -۴ hunting. It is ۳۳ miles from ‘Udhaib al-Hijanat on the way to Kufah as reported by al-Tabari. Ibn al-Jawzi relates in al-Maqtal (pg.۲۴۵; Najaf edition) from [some] scholars of history that the Imam (as) did not know about what had befell Muslim bin ‘Aqil until when he was three miles from al-Qadisiyyah, where he met Hurr bin Yazid al-Riyahi who informed him of the martyrdom of Muslim bin ‘Aqil and Hani’ bin ‘Urwah and also

about Ibn Ziyad's arrival in Kufah and his preparation against him, and [then] asked him to return.

of] Dhu Husam on your side. Turn left to go towards it. If you reach it before them, it will be [in] just [the position] you want."

So he veered left towards it and we went in that direction with him. We tried to get there before them and we managed to do so. When they saw that we had moved off the road, they [also] moved off towards us. Al-Husayn (as) halted there and ordered for his tents and they were erected.

It was not long before the heads of their horses appeared to us. Their flags looked like the wings of birds. They were one thousand men led by Hurr bin Yazid al-Tamimi al-Yarbu'i. He and his cavalry stood facing al-Husayn (as) under the midday heat, while al-Husayn (as) and his companions were in turbans and with their swords.

Al-Husayn (as) ordered his young men: 'Provide water to these men and quench their thirst and give some (tarshif) to the horses [also].'

So the young men served them water till they quenched their thirst. [Then] they began filling their jugs, vessels and bowls and take them near [their] horses. When a horse had drunk three or four or five draughts(۱), it was taken away from it and provided to another one until they had all been watered."(۲),(۳),(۴)

The time for the Zuhr prayer set in and al-Husayn (as) ordered Hajjaj bin Masruq al-Ju'fi to make the call to prayer and he did so. When it was time for the iqamah, al-Husayn (as) came

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۱- Drinking a few draughts of water is what exactly tarshif means.

۲- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۰۰) says: "I have been informed on the authority of Hisham who related from Abu Mikhnaf who said: 'Abu Janab narrated to me on the authority of 'Adiyy bin Harmalah from 'Abdullah bin Salim and al-Mudhri that...'" See also al-Irshad

(pg.۲۲۳) and Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۷۳) of Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani.

۳- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۰۱) says: “Hisham said: ‘Laqit narrated to me from ‘Ali bin al-Ta’an al-Muharibi that: ‘I was together with Hurr bin Yazid [al-Riyahi] and I was among the last of his companions [in the army] to arrive at Dhu Husam. When al-Husayn (as) saw how thirsty my horse and I were, he said: ‘Make the horse (rawiyah) kneel.’ I thought that by rawiyah he meant ‘the waterskin’. [But when he saw that I misunderstood him] he said: ‘O cousin! Make your camel kneel.’ So I made him kneel. Then he said: ‘Drink!’ So I started drinking but whenever I tried to do so the water used to spill on the ground from the waterskin. So al-Husayn (as) told me: ‘Fold (ikhnith) the waterskin’, but al-Muharibi says I did not know how to do that! So al-Husayn (as) stood up and folded it for me; so I drank myself and watered my horse also.” See al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۴) and al-Maqtal of al-Khwarazmi (pg.۲۳۰).

۴- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۰۱): “From here Abu Mikhnaf’s chain of reports misses a link. So we had no choice to make up for what was missing except by bringing in the account of Hisham al-Kalbi from Laqit, who narrated from ‘Ali bin Ta’an al-Muharibi. See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۴) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۳۱).

out [before the people] dressed in a waist-cloth (izar), a cloak (rida’) and slippers. He praised and glorified Allah, then he said:

“O people! This is [my] excuse before Allah and you: I did not come to you until your letters came to me and your messengers [saying]: ‘Come to us, for we have no leader (imam); perhaps Allah shall unite us under guidance through you.’ [Now] if you are still on the [same stance], then I have come to you. If you give me promises and pledges that assure me [of your support], I will come to your city. But if you will not and are averse to my coming, I will leave you [and go back] to the place from which I came to you.”

They were silent before him. They said to the caller to prayer (mu'adhhin): “Make the iqamah”, and he did so.

Al-Husayn (as) said to Hurr: “Do you want to lead your followers in prayer?”

He replied: “No, you pray and we will pray [following the lead of] your prayer.”

Al-Husayn (as) thus led them in prayers. Then he entered [his tent] and his followers gathered around him.

Hurr also went back to his place and entered the tent which had been erected for him. Some of his followers gathered around him while the rest returned to their ranks which they had been in and which now they went back to. Each one of them held the reins of his mount and sat in the shade [of its body].

At the

time of 'asr, al-Husayn (as) ordered [his companions] to prepare for departure. He then came out and ordered his muadhhin [to make the call for prayers], and he made the call for the 'asr prayers and the iqamah. Al-Husayn (as) came forward and led the people in prayer. After saying the final greeting [of the prayer], he turned his face towards the people. He praised and glorified Allah and then said:

"O people! Verily, if you fear Allah and recognize the rights of those who have rights then that is more pleasing for Allah. We, the People of the House (ahl al-bait), are more entitled to the authority (wilayah) of this affair [i.e. the caliphate] over you than those who claim what does not belong to them and who rule amidst you with injustice and oppression! But if you dislike us and do not know our right, and your view is now other than what came in your letters and was brought by your messengers, then I will go away from you!"

So Hurr bin Yazid said to him: "By Allah! We do not know of these letters that you are talking about!"

Al-Husayn (as) said: "O 'Uqbah bin Sim'an! Bring out the two saddle-bags which contain their letters to me."(۱) So he brought out two saddle-bags full of letters and spread it before them.

So Hurr said: "[But] we are not among those who wrote [them] to you. We have only been ordered that when we meet you we should not leave you

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۱ - Khirjain is the dual form of khirj. According to Majma' al-Bahrain, it is a sack with two straps. Later, we shall see the report by Ibn al-Jawzi in Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۵۱) that when the Imam (as) addressed his opponents on the day of 'Ashura' and appealed to them that they were the ones to write to him, they responded saying: "We do not know what you are saying." So Hurr said: "Indeed -by Allah- we had written to you and we are the ones who invited you to come [to our city]. May Allah eliminate falsefood and its followers! By Allah, I shall not prefer this world over the hereafter." He then stroke his horse and joined the camp of al-Husayn (as).

until we have brought you to 'Ubaidullah Ibn Ziyad!"

Al-Husayn (as) said: "Death is closer to you than doing such a thing!" Then he said to his companions: "Rise and get on your mounts!" So they all mounted and waited until their women had been mounted.

When they set out to leave, the people [with Hurr] prevented them from going. So al-Husayn (as) said to Hurr: "May your mother mourn for your death! What do you want?!"

He replied: "By Allah! If any of the Arabs other than you were to say that to me even though he were in the same situation as you, I would not leave him without mentioning his mother being deprived of him, whoever he might be. But -by Allah- there is no way for me to mention your mother except by [saying] the best things possible!"(۱)

Al-Husayn (as) said to him: "What is it that you want?"

Hurr replied: "By Allah, I want to go with you to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad!"

Al-Husayn (as) said: "Then by Allah I will not follow you!"

Hurr said: "Then by Allah I will not leave you!"

When the conversation between them became lengthy, Hurr said to him: "I have not been ordered to fight you. I have only been instructed not to leave you until I take you to Kufah. If you refuse [to do that], then take any road which will not bring you into Kufah, nor take you back to Madinah, let that be a compromise between us until I write to Ibn Ziyad

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۱- See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۷۴; Najaf edition) of Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani, who narrated it from Abu Mikhnaf.

[and await further instructions]. And if you wish, you can write to Yazid bin Mu'awiyah, or if you want to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. Perhaps Allah will cause something to happen by then which will relieve me from having to do anything against you. So take this [road] here and bear to the left of the road to al-'Udhaib and al-Qadisiyyah."

All this happened while they were still at Dhu Husam [which is situated at ۳۸ miles from 'Udhaib. Al-Husayn (as) moved with his companions while Hurr [and his army] set out travelling close by him.(۱)]

Baidhah

At al-Baidhah(۲), al-Husayn (as) addressed his companions and those of Hurr. He praised and glorified Allah and then said:

"O people! The Messenger of Allah (S) has said: 'Whoever sees a tyrannical ruler making lawful what Allah has forbidden, breaking the covenant of Allah, opposing the sunnah of the Messenger of Allah and behaving sinfully and unjustly with the servants of Allah, but does not [rise to] change the situation neither by his action nor by his word, then it is binding on Allah to make him enter where the tyrant shall enter."

Indeed these people have clung to the obedience of shaitan and have forsaken obeying the All-Merciful. They openly indulge in corruption and have stopped the enforcement of hudud.(۳) They have appropriated for themselves the spoils of war, they have made lawful what Allah has forbidden and have prohibited that which Allah

.has made lawful. And I am more entitled to bring changes than anyone else

Your letters reached

۱- Here comes to an end what al-Tabari reported from Hisham to fill up the missing link in Abu Mikhnaf's report. See also: al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۵) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass .((pg.۲۳۲

۲- According to Mu'jam al-Buldan, this point is situated between Waqisah and 'Udhaib .al-Hajanat

۳- [The legal punishment prescribed by the Shari'ah. [Editor

me and your messengers had come to me with your allegiance that you will not surrender me [to the enemy] nor desert me. [Now] if you are still on your pledge, [then] you have shown sound judgement; for I am Husayn, son of 'Ali, and son of Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet of Allah (S). I am with you [i.e. living amidst you] and .my family members with your families; you have an example (uswah) in me

[But] if you do not [do so] and break your pledge and free yourselves from [the] allegiance [you paid me], then I swear by my life that this is not unexpected of you. You did the same to my father, my brother and my cousin, Muslim [bin 'Aqil]! A deceived is he who has been deceived by you. You have lost your felicity and wasted your share [in the hereafter]. 'So whoever breaks his oath, breaks it only to his own detriment.'(۱) And Allah will avail [me] against you. Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah (be upon you."(۲

Hurr said to him as he moved along with him: "O Husayn! I implore you for the sake of Allah to save your life. I bear witness that if you fight [these people], you will definitely "!be killed. And if they fight you, then I think you will surely be destroyed

Al-Husayn (as) said to him: "Do you seek to frighten me with death? Are you going to kill me just because the war has been waged [against

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.Qur'an, ۴۸:۱۰ -۱

"...Al-Tabari (۵:۴۰۳): "Abu Mikhnaf says: '[I narrate] from 'Uqbah bin Abi al-'Ayzar -۲

me]?! I do not know what to tell you? I can only tell you what the man from the [Banu] Aws said to his fellow tribesman when he met him as he was intending to support the Prophet of Allah (S). [His tribesman] told him: 'Where are you going? You are indeed :[going to be killed.' He said [in reply

,I will advance, for death is not a shame upon a young man

.When he intends the truth and fights as a Muslim

,And when he consoles the righteous by [sacrificing] his self

And parts with the sinful who is a deceiver and whose nose shall be rubbed onto the (ground."(۱

When Hurr heard this [he understood that he is ready to die but not to accept humiliation], so he drew away from him. He and his followers travelled on one side [of the road] while al-Husayn (as) travelled on the other side, until they reached 'Udhaib .(al-Hijanat(۲

Udhaib al-Hijanat'

When the caravan of al-Husayn (as) reached this point] there appeared, all of a] sudden, four people who came from Kufah on their mounts and had the horse of Nafi' bin Hilal with them, accompanied by their guide, Tirimmah bin 'Adiyy, who was riding :on a horse. When they reached al-Husayn (as), they recited him the following verses

,O my camel, do not get terrified by my swift drive

.And get ready [to take me quickly] before the break of dawn

,With the best of riders and in the best of journeys

[Till you get adorned by [being in the presence of

۱- Both Ibn al-Athir in al-Kamil and al-Mufid in al-Irshad have narrated these verses but with the following addition: "If I live, I will do so without regret and if I die, I shall not be blamed, suffices you as humiliation that you live while your nose is rubbed onto the ground."

۲- Gramatically 'udhaib is a diminutive noun of 'adhib. 'Udhaib al-Hijanat was a valley owned by the Banu Tamim situated on the border of Iraq (al-sawad). A military base of the Persians was [also] situated in the area. It is six miles from al-Qadisiyyah. The horses of Nu'man, king of Hirah, used to graze there, thus the area came to be known as 'Udhaib al-Hijanat as al-hijanat is the plural of al-hajin meaning an animal with mixed blood (i.e. a hybrid).

the noble in lineage [i.e. al-Husayn (as)].

A praiseworthy, free and generous man,

Whom Allah has sent to carry out the best mission.

May He preserve him forever!

[Al-Husayn (as)] said: "Indeed by Allah; I hope that Allah has decreed for us the best, whether we are killed or become victorious!"

Hurr bin Yazid came forward and said: "These people who have come from Kufah are not among those who came with you [from Madinah]. I will arrest them or send them back."

Al-Husayn (as) said to him: "I will indeed defend them against that which I defend myself. These people are my helpers and supporters. You had given me [promise] not to confront me in any matter until after you receive letter from Ibn Ziyad."

Hurr said: "Yes, but they did not come with you."

Al-Husayn (as)] retorted: “They are my companions. They enjoy the same position as] those who have come with me. If you stand by the word agreed upon between you ”!and me, [then well and good]. otherwise I will fight you

.[Thus, Hurr desisted [from arresting them

Then al-Husayn (as) asked them: “Tell me the news of the people you have left ”.behind

Mujamma’ bin ‘Abdullah al-‘A’idhi -one of the four men who had just come to him(۱)- said: “As for the noblemen, they have been heavily bribed and their pockets filled. Their hearts have been won and their loyalty secured for them. So they are [now] all united against you! With regard to the rest of the people, their hearts are inclined towards you, but

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Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۶): “They were probably Jabir bin al-Harith al-Salmani, ‘Umar bin - ۱ Khalid al-Saidawi and Sa’d, the servant of al-Saidawi, about whom Abu Mikhnaf says ”.that they fought together in the beginning of the battle and were killed at one place

”!tomorrow their swords shall be drawn against you

”?Al-Husayn (as)] said: “Tell me, did my messenger come to you]

”?They asked: “Who was he

”.He replied: “Qais bin Musahhar al-Saidawi

They said: “Yes. Husayn bin Tamim had arrested him and sent him to Ibn Ziyad. [Ibn Ziyad] instructed him to curse you and your father, but he instead invoked [Allah’s] blessings on you and your father, and cursed Ibn Ziyad and his father. He invited [people] to support you and informed them of your coming. So Ibn Ziyad ordered him ”.to be thrown [to the ground] from the top of the palace

The eyes of al-Husayn (as) filled with tears and he could not restrain his tears. Then

he said: 'Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait.'(۱) O Allah grant them and us the heaven as an abode, and gather us all under your mercy and your desired reward which is reserved [for the believers]."(۲)

Then Tirimmah bin 'Adiyy drew closer to al-Husayn (as) and said to him: "By Allah, I see that there is no one to support you. If only these people whom I see following you [i.e. Hurr and his army] were to fight you, they will be enough [to defeat you]. A day before I left Kufah, I saw at the back side of the Kufah and I found there [a crowd of] people such that my eyes had never seen a gathering bigger than that at one place. So I inquired

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۱- Qur'an, ۳۳:۲۳.

۲- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۰۳): "Abu Mikhnaf says: '... and 'Uqbah bin Abi 'Ayzar has reported that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۵; Najaf edition).

about them and was told: 'They have gathered [here] to be inspected and then they are going to be sent against al-Husayn (as).' I implore you not to move towards them even a span if you can! And if you wish to stay in a town through which Allah would protect you until you have considered [the matter] and it has become clear for you what [exactly] you are going to do, then come with me and I will take you to an impenetrable hill which belongs to us and is called Aja'.(۱) Then I will accompany you until [we] halt at al-qurayyah."(۲)

[Al-Husayn (as)] replied him: "May Allah reward you and your kinsmen with the best of rewards. There has been an agreement between us and these people, so we cannot leave. And we do not know how will this matter come to an end between us and them!"

Tirimmah bin 'Adiyy [continues with his report and] says: "So I bade him farewell and said: may Allah avert from you the mischief of the jinn and the mankind."(۳)

Al-Husayn (as) set out until he reached Qasr Bani Muqatil.(۴)

He halted [at this point] and there a tent had [already] been erected.(۵) He said: “Whose tent is this?” ‘It belongs to ‘Ubaidullah bin al-Hurr al-Ju’fi’(۶), he was .answered

He said: “Ask him to come to me” and send [a messenger] to him. When the ”.messenger came to him he said: “Husayn bin ‘Ali is calling you

Ubaidullah replied: “Indeed, we belong to Allah and to Him‘

Aja’ is a noun and its grammatical form is fa-‘a-l. It is the name of a person after -۱ who the hill of Tay’ has been named. It is situated in the west of this area and on the .’left of the hill of Sumaira

.’Qurayyah is the diminutive noun of qaryah. It is one of the areas in Tay -۲

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۰۶): “Abu Mikhnaf reports: ‘Jamil bin Murid related to me from - ۳ Tirimmah that...” The complete report is as follows: [Tirimmah said to al-Husayn (as):] “I have prepared some provision for my family from Kufah and I am carrying their expenditure with me. So I am going to leave the things with them and then I will proceed towards you, if Allah wills. If I happened to join you, then I shall be –by Allah- among your helpers.” Al-Husayn (as) said: “If you are determined to do so then hasten! May Allah shower his mercy on you.” [Tirimmah] says: “When I reached my family I gave them what was of help to them and made my will and informed them of my intentions. Then I set out [to join al-Husayn], but when I neared ‘Udhaib al-Hijanat’, Sama’ah bin Badr approached me and gave me the news of his martyrdom, ”.and so I returned

According to Mu’jam al-Buldan, this point is situated between Qurayyat, - ۴ .Qutqutanah and ‘Ain al-Tamr

”...Al-Tabari (۵:۴۰۷): “Abu Mikhnaf reports -۵

.His biography will follow towards the end of this book -۶

do we indeed return! By Allah, I only left Kufah out of dislike that al-Husayn would

".enter it while I am there. By Allah, I do not want to see him nor him to see me

The messenger returned to him and informed him. So he put on his slippers, stood up and went to see him. He entered [his tent], greeted him and sat down. Then he asked him to accompany him, but Ibn al-Hurr repeated the [same] words [he had said to the !]messenger

Al-Husayn (as)] said to him: "If you are not going to help us, then fear Allah in that you] should be of those who fight us. For by Allah, one who hears our cry but does not come to our help will [indeed] be destroyed!" Then he rose from him.(١)

Uqbah bin Sim'an says: "At the final hours of the night al-Husayn (as) ordered [us] to' get provisions of water. Then he ordered us to [continue] the journey and we did so. An hour after we left Qasr Bani Muqatil al-Husayn (as) dropped his head drowsily and then woke up saying: "Verily, we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return. All .praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds." He repeated this twice or three times

His son, 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as) approached him [while he was] on his horse and said: "Indeed, we belong to Allah and to Him shall we return, and all praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the

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١- Al-Tabari (٥:٤٠٧): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Mujalid bin Sa'id narrated to me from 'Amir al- .(Sha'bi that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٢۶

worlds. O my father! May I be sacrificed for you. Why have you praised Allah and "?(’[pronounced] the verse of returning (istirja

He replied: "O my son! I nodded off and a horseman appeared to me, riding a horse, and he said: "The people are advancing and death is advancing towards them!" So I ".understood that it is our own souls announcing our deaths to us

"?He said to him: "O father! May Allah never let you see evil! Are not we on the right

He replied: "Indeed [we are], by Him to Whom all his servants will return."

He then said: "O father! Then we need have no concern. We will die righteously."

He said to him: "May Allah reward you with the best of what he has rewarded a son on account of his father."

He stopped in the morning and offered the Morning Prayer. Then he hurried to remount and began veering to the left with his companions, with the intention of separating from [the army of Hurr]. So Hurr bin Yazid came to him, driving them back. When he [tried] to forcefully turn them towards Kufah, they resisted him, so they desisted from doing that, but still accompanied them until they reached Nainawa(١).

Nainawa

This is a place where al-Husayn (as) halted. There appeared, suddenly, a rider who was on a horse of a noble breed, carrying weapon with a bow on his shoulder, coming from Kufah. They all stopped, waiting for him. When he reached them, he greeted Hurr bin Yazid and his

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١- Nainawa was a village on the bank of the Euphrates which was inhabited until the end of the ٢nd century H.

followers but did not greet al-Husayn (as) and his companions. He handed a letter from 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad to Hurr. It read:

"When this letter reaches you and my messenger comes to you, make al-Husayn come to a halt. But only let him stop in an open place, with no shelter and water. I have ordered my messenger to stay with you and not to leave you until he brings me [news of] your carrying out my instructions. That is all."

When he had read the letter, Hurr told them: "This is the letter of the governor, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. He has ordered me to stop you at a point I received his letter.

This is his messenger and he has ordered him not to leave me until I carry out his ".order

Abu] al-Sha'tha' Yazid bin Ziyad al-Muhasar al-Kindi al-Bahdali(۱) looked at the] messenger of 'Ubaidullah [bin Ziyad], stood infront of him and said: "Are you Malik bin "?[al-Nusair al-Baddi(۲) [from the tribe of Kindah

".He answered: "Yes

So Yazid bin Ziyad said to him: "May your mother mourn you! What an affair you have "!?come to

He replied: "I have not done so! I have [only] obeyed my leader (imami) and remained ".faithful to my pledge of allegiance

Abu al-Sha'tha' said: "You have been disobedient to your Lord and have obeyed your leader to your own destruction. You have earned shame and hell fire! Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: 'We made them leaders who invite to the fire, and on the Day of Resurrection

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۱ - He was an archer in al-Husayn's army and was among the first ones to be martyred. He shot [about] a hundred arrows and then stood up and said: "Only five arrows of these [hundred] fell on the ground and so I have come to know that I have certainly killed five men." Abu Mikhnaf has narrated from Fudhail bin Khudaij al-Kindi that: "Yazid bin Ziyad was with 'Umar bin Sa'd in the beginning. But when ['Umar bin Sa'd and his army] refused to make peace as proposed by al-Husayn (as), Yazid bin Ziyad got inclined towards him and fought on his side until he was martyred." .However, this account is not in consistence with the report mentioned in this text

۲ - Al-Tabari: Malik bin al-Nusair from the Banu Badda'. Tabari narrates on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf that he was present in Karbala' and had struck the head of Imam al-Husayn (as) with his sword, cutting his hood and thus causing bleeding. The Imam (as) said to him: "May you never eat or drink with your hand, and may Allah

resurrect you with the oppressors." After the Imam's martyrdom Malik had snatched his cap from him and as a result he lived a life of poverty till his death. (۵:۴۴۸) It has been narrated also that 'Abdullah bin Dabbas had pointed out for Mukhtar a number of men who had killed al-Husayn (as) and among them was Malik bin al-Nusair al-Baddi. So Mukhtar sent to them Malik bin 'Amru al-Nahdi who met them at al-Qadisiyyah. Malik arrested and took them to Mukhtar one evening. Mukhtar said to al-Baddi: 'Are you the one who took his cap?' 'Abdullah bin Kamil said: 'Yes! He is the one.' Mukhtar then said: 'Cut off his hands and legs and then leave him to writhe till he dies.' So was done to him and he bled to death. He died in the year ۶۶ H." (۶:۵۷)

they will not receive any help.'(۱) Such [a person] is your leader!"

Hurr bin Yazid [al-Riyahi] began to make the people halt at that place which was without water and where there was no village.(۲)

So they said: "Allow us to stop at this village –meaning Nainawa, or that one –meaning al-Ghadhiriyyah(۳), or that one –meaning Shafiyyah(۴)."

He replied: "No! By Allah I cannot do that. This man has been sent to me as a spy."

Zuhair bin al-Qain said to [al-Husayn (as)]: "O son of the Messenger of Allah! Fighting these people [now] is easier than fighting those who will come against us after them. By my life, after these there will come against us such [a number] that we will not have the power to face them."

Al-Husayn (as) said to him: "I will not begin to fight against them."

Zuhair bin al-Qain said to him: "Let us go to this village and halt there, for it is secured and is situated on the bank of the Euphrates. If they stopped us, we will fight them, as it is easier for us to fight these [men] than to fight those who will come after them."

So al-Husayn (as) said: "Which village is it?"

He replied: "Al-'Aqr."(۵)

Al-Husayn (as) said: "O Allah! I seek refuge with you from 'aqr (destruction)." Then he

.stopped. This was on Thursday, second of Muharram ۶۱ H

On the next day, ‘Umar bin Sa‘d bin Abi Waqqas(۶) arrived from Kufah with four thousand soldiers

The Events From The ۳rd To The ۸th Of Muharram

(The Coming Out of Ibn Sa‘d Against al-Husayn (as

(The reason why Ibn Sa‘d came against al-Husayn (as

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.Qur’an, ۲۸:۴۱ -۱

This indicates that Karbala’ was not the name of a village, rather a name of an area -۲ known as Kur Babil, i.e. the villages of Babil, as reported in Kitab al-Dalail wa al-Masail of Sayyid Hibah al-Din al-Shahristani. Ibn al-Jawzi reports in his Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۵۰; Najaf edition): “... Al-Husayn (as) then said: ‘What is this land called?’ They replied: ‘Karbala’. It is also called Nainawa which is a village in it.’ [Hearing this,] al-Husayn wept and said: ‘Karb wa Bala’ [i.e. grief and tribulation].’ He then said: ‘Umm Salamah informed me that: ‘[One day] Jibrail was with the Messenger of Allah [‘s] and you [i.e. al-Husayn] were with me. You happened to cry, so the Messenger of Allah [‘s] said: ‘Leave my son alone’, so I left you alone. He then lifted you and placed you on his lap. So Jibrail said: ‘Do you love him?’ He replied: ‘Yes.’ Jibrail then said: ‘Your nation will [one day] kill him. And if you wish I can show you the earth of the place where he shall be killed.’ So he said: ‘Yes! [Show it to me].’ So Jibrail spread his wing on the land of Karbala’ and showed it to him.’ [After relating this] al-Husayn [(as) took in his hands the sand of this place and] smelled it and said: ‘By Allah! This is the land about which Jibra’il informed the Messenger of Allah, [the land] I shall indeed be killed in.” Ibn al-Jawzi continues and says: “Ibn Sa’d has mentioned something similar in meaning to this report in his al-Tabaqat from al-Waqidi.” Ibn al-Jawzi then says: “Ibn Sa’d has also reported [the following incident] from al-Sha’bi who said: ‘When ‘Ali (as) passed by Karbala’ on his way to Siffin and stood opposite Nainawa –a village on the Euphrates, he stopped and called upon the one who carried water for ablution and

said: 'O Aba 'Abdillah, tell me what is this land called?' 'Karbala', he replied. So he wept till the place [where he was standing] became wet with his tears. He then said: '[One day] I went to see the Prophet of Allah (S) and saw him weeping. So I asked him: 'What has made you to weep?' He said: 'Jibrail was with me a moment ago and he informed me that my son, al-Husayn, shall be killed by the bank of the Euphrates, at a place called Karbala'.' Jibrail then took a handful of sand [of that land] and made me smell it, so I could not hold my tears." Ibn al-Jawzi says: "Hasan bin Kathir and 'Abd Khair have said: 'When 'Ali (as) reached Karbala', he stopped [there] and wept and then said: 'May my father be sacrificed for the young men who shall be killed here. This [land] shall be the resting place of their mounts. This is [the land] where they shall camp. This [land] shall be the battleground of the [young] men.' [Saying this] he wept [even] more." Ibn Muzahim has narrated this report through four [different] chains of narration in Waq'at Siffin (pg.۱۴۰-۱۴۲; Harun publications).

۳- Al-Ghadhiriyyah is named after Ghadhirah which belong to the Banu Asad and which are in fact lands around the grave of 'Aun which are now a farsakh from Karbala'. There stand the ruins of a fortress which is today known as the fortress of the Banu Asad.

۴- These were wells owned by the Banu Asad situated near Karbala'.

۵- This was a place where the way station of Nubukhadh Nasr from Kur Babil was located. Kur Babil was later misspelt and came to be pronounced as Karbala'.

۶- We have given his biography earlier.

was that 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad had dispatched him with four thousand men from Kufah to Dastbay.(۱) This was at a time when the people of Dailam had attacked Dastbay and seized control of it. So Ibn Ziyad wrote [a letter of] appointment to him, appointing him over Rayy, and ordered him to set out [to that place].

Ibn Sa'd left Kufah and assembled his army [outside the city] at [a point called] Hammam A'yan.(۲) [But] when the issue of al-Husayn (as) came up and he set out for Kufah, Ibn Ziyad summoned 'Umar bin Sa'd and said: "Go to al-Husayn. You can continue with your mission after we have settled the matter between us and him."

'Umar bin Sa'd said: "If you deem it right to exempt me from this task, then do so. May

".Allah have mercy on you

Ubaidullah said to him: "Yes! With the condition that you return to us the [letter of' ".your] appointment

When he told him that, 'Umar bin Sa'd said: "Give me a day so that I may consider [the ".[matter

Umar bin Sa'd left [the court] and began taking counsel from his advisers. There was' .[none he took advice from except that he stopped him [from accepting the mission

Hamzah bin Mughirah bin Shu'bah(٣), [Ibn Sa'd's] nephew from his sister's side, came to him and said: "I implore you by Allah -O my uncle- not to advance against al-Husayn lest you disobey your Lord and sever relations with your near ones! By Allah! If you were to leave

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Known in Persian as Dashtbeh, it is a sizeable district situated between Hamadan -١ and Rayy. It was later annexed to Qazwin as reported in Mu'jam al-Buldan (۴:۵٨). Dastbay is an Arabicised form of the Persian word Dashtbeh which means a beautiful .oasis

According to al-Qamqam (pg.۴٨۶), it was one of the districts of Kufah which - ٢ contained a public bath owned by 'Umar bin Sa'd, runned by his servant A'yan after .whom the area was named

Al-Tabari: Hajjaj bin Yusuf al-Thaqafi had appointed him over Hamadan in ٧٧ H -٣ (۵:٢٨۴), while his brother, Mutarraf bin Mughirah, was the governer of Madain. Mutarraf later revolted against Hajjaj and was secretly supported by Hamzah with funds and weapons (۵:٢٩٢). Hajjaj then sent a letter to Qais bin Sa'd al-'Ajali -who was then Hamzah's head of bodyguards- appointing him as the next governor of Hamadan and [also] instructed him to fetter Hamzah bin Mughirah with chains and .(imprison him and he did so (۵:٢٩۴

the [riches of the] world and the kingdom of the earth -if you had ever possessed

them, [then] that would be better for you than meeting Allah with the blood of al-Husayn [on your hands]!"

'Umar bin Sa'd said to him: "I will do so, if Allah wills."(١)

[According to what has been recorded in al-Tabari, there is some discontinuity here in the report of Abu Mikhnaf as he leaves off here and picks up again at Ibn Sa'd's arrival in Karbala'. Accordingly Tabari fills up this gap by bringing in the report of 'Awanah bin al-Hakam which we have no choice but to mention it here in order to create a link between the reports.]

Hisham says: "'Awanah bin al-Hakam related to me on the authority of 'Ammar bin 'Abdullah bin Yasar al-Juhani from his father who said:

"I went to see 'Umar bin Sa'd after he had been ordered to go to al-Husayn (as). So he told me: 'The governor has ordered me to go to al-Husayn but I refused him.' So I said to him: "May Allah guide you and show you the right path. Do not accept. Do not do that and do not go to him!"

['Abdullah bin Yasar] says: "I left his presence [and as I came out] a man came to me and said: "'Umar bin Sa'd is inviting people to [go to war with] al-Husayn."

['Abdullah] says: "I went to him [again] and saw him sitting. When he saw me, he turned his face away. So I understood

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١ - Al-Tabari (٥:۴٠٧): "Abu Mikhnaf says: "'Abd al-Rahman bin Jundab narrated to me from 'Uqbah bin Sim'an that..." Abu Faraj al-Isfahani has mentioned this report with the same chain of narration in his Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.٧۴) with the difference that instead of 'Uqbah he records 'Utbah bin Sim'an al-Kalbi! See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٢۶).

that he is determined to set out against [al-Husayn]. So I left his presence."

He says: "'Umar bin Sa'd then went to Ibn Ziyad and said: 'May Allah guide you! You

have entrusted me with this task and have written for me the [letter of] appointment, about which the people [also] have come to know. [He meant his appointment over Rayy]. If you are [still] of the opinion to enforce it for me, then do so, and send to al-Husayn, with this army, someone from the noblemen of Kufah, who I am not more .brave and powerful than him in warfare.' Then he proposed some names to him

Ibn Ziyad said to him: 'Do not teach me of the noblemen of Kufah! I have not commissioned you to advise me who I should send. If you go with our army [then that '!is it], otherwise give us [back] the [letter of your] appointment

".I will go', he said, when he saw how obstinate he was'

'Ibn Sa'd's Arrival in Karbala

Abdullah] says: "He set out with [an army of] four thousand(۱) men until he reached'] ".where al-Husayn [had camped], on the following day of his arrival in Nainawa

He says: "Umar bin Sa'd asked 'Azarah bin Qais al-Ahmasi(۲) to go to al-Husayn (as). He told him: 'Go to him and ask him what has brought him [here] and what does he want?' 'Azarah was one of those who had written to al-Husayn (as), so he was ".ashamed to go to him

Abdullah] says: "'Umar bin Sa'd then made the same proposal']

See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۷). He says as follows regarding the martyrdom - ۱ Muhammad bin Abi Talib: "Ibn Ziyad dispatched Ibn Sa'd towards al-Husayn with ۹,۰۰۰ men and later Yazid bin Rikab al-Kalbi with an army of ۲,۰۰۰ soldiers. He also sent Husayn bin Tamim al-Sakuni with ۴,۰۰۰ men, Fulan al-Mazani with ۳,۰۰۰ and Nasr bin Fulan with ۲,۰۰۰ soldiers. This summed up to ۲۰,۰۰۰ riders and foot soldiers. In Matalib al-Sa'ul al-Shafi'i mentions that they were ۲۲,۰۰۰ men altogether. Shaikh al-Saduq narrates in his Amali (pg.۱۰۱; Beirut edition) with his chain of narration from Imam al-Sadiq (as) that they numbered ۳۰,۰۰۰ men. Ibn al-Jawzi relates in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۴۷; Najaf edition) from Muhammad bin Sirin that the latter used to say: "In this matter the

nobility of ‘Ali bin Abi Talib (as) becomes evident; for he had once met ‘Umar bin Sa’d while he was still young and said to him: ‘Woe onto you O son of Sa’d! Just imagine in which state you will be the day you will given to choose between the heaven and the hell fire, and you shall go for the hell fire?!”

٢- Al-Mufid mentions him in al-Irshad as ‘Urwah bin Qais. His biography has already been given when mentioning the hypocrites and the Umayyads from among the people of Kufah who wrote letters to the Imam (as).

to those leaders who had written to him, but all of them refused it and expressed their dislike for that.”

[‘Abdullah] says: “Kathir bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bi(١) -a brave knight who never turned his face away from anything- stood up and said: ‘I will go to him. By Allah, if you wish I can [even] assasinate him.’

‘Umar bin Sa‘d said: ‘I do not want him to be assassinated. But go to him and ask him what has brought him?’

So he went to him. When Abu Thumamah al-Saidi saw him, he said to al-Husayn (as): ‘May Allah guide you, O Aba ‘Abdillah! The most vicious man on this earth, the most daring in [shedding] blood and the deadliest of them has come to you.’ [Abu Thumamah] went to him and said: ‘Put down your sword!’

[Kathir] said: ‘No! By Allah, [there is going to be] no advantage to you. I am only a messenger. If you listen to me, I will tell you the message which I have been sent to bring to you. If you refuse, I will go [away].’

So [Abu Thumamah] said to him: ‘I will take the hilt of your sword and you can say what you need to.’

He said: ‘No! By Allah, you will not touch it.’

[Abu Thumamah] then told him: ‘Tell me what you have brought and I will convey it to him. For I will not let you go near him, as you are a corrupt man.’ They both [stood there and] cursed each other. Then he went

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۱ - Al-Tabari: Kathir was present when al-Husayn (as) was martyred and he also narrated the speech given by Zuhair bin al-Qain (۵:۴۲۶). He is the one who killed Zuhair in association with Muhajir bin Aws (۵:۴۴۱). And he was the one who followed Dahhak bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriqi al-Hamdani with the intention of killing him. But when he came to know that Dahhak was from Hamdan, he said: "This is our cousin" and so he left him (۵:۴۴۵).

back to 'Umar bin Sa'd and told him the news."

['Abdullah] says: "'Umar bin Sa'd summoned Qurrah bin Qais al-Han³ali and said to him: 'Woe onto you, O Qurrah! Go to al-Husayn and ask him what has brought him and what he wants?"

['Abdullah] says: "So Qurrah bin Qais went to him. When al-Husayn (as) saw him coming, he said: 'Do you know this man?' Habib bin MuZahir(۱) said: 'Yes! He is from the HanZalah, [a clan] of [the Banu] Tamim. He is the son of our sister. I used to know him as a man of sound judgement. I never thought that he would be present at this scene."(۲)

['Abdullah] says: "He came and greeted al-Husayn (as) and conveyed to him the message of 'Umar bin Sa'd.

Al-Husayn (as) said: 'The people of your town wrote to me that I should come. But if they [now] dislike me, I will leave them [and return]."

['Abdullah] says: "The messenger went back to 'Umar bin Sa'd and gave him the report. 'Umar bin Sa'd told him: 'I hope that Allah will spare me from making war on him and fighting against him.' [Then he wrote to Ibn Ziyad about all this]."

[This is the end of the supplementary reports that were from other than Abu Mikhnaf].

Ibn Sa'd's First Letter to Ibn Ziyad

:The letter of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d reached Ibn Ziyad and it read

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. When I reached the place“ where al-Husayn had stationed, I sent to him my messenger. He asked him what brought him and

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This is the first time that his name appears in the reports of Karbala’ in this text, -۱ though it has not been specified how he reached there. We have already given his biography when discussing the Shiite leaders who had written to the Imam (as) from .Kufah. Some [other] aspects of his life will follow in the reports of his martyrdom

Al-Tabari: Qurrah bin Qais was with Hurr bin Yazid al-Riyahi. ‘Adiyy bin Harmalah -۲ al-Asadi relates that he used to say: “By Allah! Had Hurr informed me of what he intended, I would have [indeed] gone with him to al-Husayn (as) (۵:۴۲۷). Abu Zuhair al-‘Abasi relates from him his report about the passing of the women of the household of al-Husayn (as) through the place where [al-Husayn (as)] and the members of his household were martyred, and also [his report on] the lamentation of Lady Zainab on her brother (as) (۵:۴۵۶). Habib bin Mu¨ahir had invited Qurrah to come to the help of the Imam (as) and that he should not return back to the oppressors. So Qurrah replied him: “[At the moment,] I am going back to my comrade with the answer to his message, thereafter I will make a decision.” But he went to ‘Umar bin Sa’d and did not come back to al-Husayn until the Imam (as) was martyred (۵:۴۱۱). See also al-.(Irshad (pg.۲۲۸

what he wants and he replied: ‘The people of this city wrote to me and their messengers came to me asking me to come, so I came. But if they [now] dislike me and [the position] now appears different to them from what their messengers brought ”.to me, [then] I will go away from them

:When the letter was read for Ibn Ziyad he recited the following verse

!Now when our claws cling to him, he hopes for delivery but there is no time to escape

Ibn Ziyad's Response to Ibn Sa'd

:He wrote to Ibn Sa'd

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Your letter has reached me and I" have understood what you mentioned. Offer al-Husayn [the opportunity] of him and all his companions pledging allegiance to Yazid bin Mu'awiyah. If he does that, we will ".then see what our judgement will be. That is all

When the letter reached Ibn Sa'd, he said: "I had anticipated that Ibn Ziyad would not (spare me [fighting al-Husayn]."(١)

(Ibn Sa'd's Meeting With al-Husayn (as

Al-Husayn (as) sent 'Amru bin QurZah bin Ka'b al-Ansari(٢) to Ibn Sa'd [saying]: "Meet me at night somewhere between the two armies." So [at night] 'Umar bin Sa'd came out with around twenty horsemen and so did al-Husayn (as). When they met each other, al-Husayn (as) ordered his companions to move away from him and so did 'Umar bin Sa'd. Then they started talking and their conversation took long such that part of the night lapsed. Then each of the two returned to his camp with his .companions

People started making assumptions about

١- Al-Tabari (٥:٤١١): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Nadhr bin Salih bin Habib bin Zuhair al-'Abasi narrated to me from Hassan bin Fa'id bin Bukair al-'Abasi who said: 'I bear witness .(that the letter of 'Umar bin Sa'd came..." See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٢٨

٢- Al-Tabari: He was with al-Husayn (as) while his brother 'Ali bin Qur¨ah was with 'Umar bin Sa'd. When 'Amru was martyred 'Ali bin Qur³ah put it on the companions of al-Husayn (as) in order to avenge for the blood of his brother. But he got stabbed by Nafi' bin Hilal al-Muradi and fell to the ground. His collegues carried him away and he .(was then treated and recovered (٥:٤٣٤

what transpired between the two. They were presuming that al-Husayn (as) told

‘Umar bin Sa‘d: “Come along with me to Yazid bin Mu’awiyah and let us leave the two armies.” ‘Umar said: “In that case my house will be demolished.” “I will rebuild it for you”, he replied. So [Ibn Sa‘d] said: “My estate will be confiscated.” So he said: “In that case I shall give you what is better than that from my wealth in Hijaz.” But ‘Umar did .not like that

The people were busy talking about this and rumours spread without [them] having (heard or known anything of the conversation [between the two].(۱

Among other assumptions they made were that] they said: “Al-Husayn said: ‘Accept] :any three of my requests

.[I should either return to where I came from [i.e. Madinah .۱

Or I should put my hand in the hand of Yazid bin Mu’awiyah and then he should .۲ .decide on the matter [which is] between him and I

Or take me to any of the border outposts of the Islamic land you like, so that I may .۳ (become one of them, with the same rights and duties as them.’”(۲

Uqbah bin Sim’an says: “I accompanied al-Husayn (as) and came out with him from‘ Madinah to Makkah, and from Makkah to Iraq, and I did not separate from him until he was martyred. There is not even a word from what he said to the people in Madinah, or in Makkah, or on the way [to Kufah], or in Iraq or

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Al-Tabari (۵:۴۱۳): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘Abu Janab related to me from Hani’ bin - ۱ Thubait al-Hadhrami...” Hani’ was in the camp of ‘Umar bin Sa’d at the time of the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as). It becomes evident from this very report that he was among the twenty horsemen who had accompanied ‘Umar bin Sa’d at night to meet the Imam (as). Al-Hadhrami reports: “We moved away from the two such that we could neither hear their voices nor what they said.” See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۹). According to Ibn al-Jawzi in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۴۸; Najaf edition): “It was ‘Umar who

".sent for [al-Husayn (as)] requesting a meeting with him, and they met in privacy

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۱۳): "This is what a group of muhaddithun have recorded and has [also] -۲ been narrated to us by al-Mujalid bin Sai'd, Saq'ab bin Zuhair al-Azdi and others who .(said ..." See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۷۵; Najaf edition

even] in his camp until the day he was [martyred], that I may have not heard. By Allah!] He did not offer them what people are talking and assuming of, [like] paying allegiance to Yazid bin Mu'awiyah, or that he should be taken to a frontier among the frontiers of the Islamic land. Rather, he said: "Allow me to go wherever I like in this spacious land (until we see how the people's attitude to the affair develops."(۱

Ibn Sa'd's Second Letter to Ibn Ziyad

:[Umar bin Sa'd wrote [a second] letter to Ibn Ziyad [saying'

Indeed, Allah has put out the fire [of war], united [the people] in one opinion, and set" right the affairs of the community. Al-Husayn has given me a promise that he will return to the place which he came from, or he will go to one of the border outposts and become like any other of the Muslims, with the same rights and duties as them; or he will go to Yazid, the commander of the faithful, and offer him his hand and see [if the difference] between them [can be reconciled]. In this [offer] you will be pleased ".and there is good for the ummah

When 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad read the letter he said: "This is the letter of a man who is ".sincere to his governor and anxious for his community. Yes, I accept that

Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan(۲) stood up and said: "Are you going to accept this from him ,[i.e. al-Husayn] when he has encamped on your land nearby! By Allah

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Al-Tabari (۵:۴۱۳): "As for 'Abd al-Rahman bin Jundab, he related to me from 'Uqbah -۱ bin Sim'an who said: ..." See also Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۴۸) who has mentioned .the report in brief

We have given his biography under the reports about the noblemen of Kufah who -۲

.were with Ibn Ziyad

if he leaves your city without putting his hand on yours, then he will gain more strength and might and you will become weaker and helpless [in your position]. Do not give him this opportunity; for that is [a mark of] weakness. Rather, let him submit to your authority,(۱) he and his companions. Then if you punish them, you will be the [person] most appropriate to do so, and if you forgive them, then you have the right to do so. By Allah, I have heard that al-Husayn and 'Umar bin Sa'd have been sitting "!between the two armies engaged in conversation the whole night

(Ibn Ziyad said: "Your opinion is excellent. Your view is the correct view."(۲

Ibn Ziyad's Second Response to Ibn Sa'd

:Ubaidullah bin Ziyad thus wrote to 'Umar bin Sa'd'

I did not send you to al-Husayn for you to restrain yourself from [fighting] him, nor to" idle the time away with him, nor to promise him peace and preservation [of his life], nor to be an intercessor on his behalf with me. Look now, if al-Husayn and his companions submit to [our] authority and surrender, then send them to me as captives. But if they refuse, then march against them until you kill them. Treat them in !a manner that it should serve as a lesson for others, for they indeed deserve that

When al-Husayn is killed, make the horses trample on his chest and back; for he is disobedient and an opponent, an oppressor and one who is set to sever [all] relations. I

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۱ - Ibn al-Jawzi has briefly narrated this in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۴۸) and adds that [Ibn Sa'd] wrote the following verse at the end of his letter: "Now that he is caught in our ".trap, he hopes for delivery but there is no longer time for escape

۲ - Al-Tabari (۵:۴۱۴): "Al-Mujalid bin Sa'id al-Hamdani and Saq'ab bin Zuhair have .(narrated to me that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۹

do not consider that this [i.e. trampling his body] will be in any way wrong after death

do not consider that this [i.e. trampling his body] will be in any way wrong after death. But I have promised myself that I would do this to him if I killed him! If you carry out our command with respect to him, we will reward you the reward of one who is obedient. [But] if you refuse, then leave our service and army and hand it over to Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan; for we have given him our instructions. That is all."(١)

Ubaidullah bin Ziyad then summoned Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan and said to him:' "Take this letter to 'Umar bin Sa'd and let him propose to al-Husayn and his companions to submit to my authority. If they did so, then he should send them to me as prisoners. And if they refused, then he should fight them. If he does [what I have said], then listen to him and obey him. [But] if he refuses, then you [take up the authority and] fight them, as you will be [then] the commander of the people; and attack [Ibn Sa'd], cut off his head and send it to me."(٢)

After Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan took the letter, as he and 'Abdullah bin Abi al-Mahall bin Hizam [al-Kilabi] stood up to leave, 'Abdullah said: "May Allah preserve the governor! The sons of our sister [Umm al-Banin: 'Abbas, 'Abdullah, Ja'far and 'Uthman] are with al-Husayn. If you deem it right to grant them protection (aman), then [please] do so."

[Ibn Ziyad] replied: "Yes, with pleasure."

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١- Al-Tabari (۵:۴١۵): "Abu Janab al-Kalbi has related to me that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٢٩) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.٢۴٨).

٢- Al-Tabari (۵:۴١۴): "Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid has related to me from Humaid bin Muslim that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٢٩).

He then ordered his scribe to write a guarantee of security for them and sent it through 'Abdullah bin Abi al-Mahall [bin Hizam al-Kilabi] and his servant Kuzman.

Shamir Brings the Letter to Ibn Sa'd

Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan set out with the letter of 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad to 'Umar bin

Sa‘d. When he arrived and read it to him ‘Umar said: “Woe onto you! What is wrong with you? May Allah never show favour to your house. May Allah make abominable what you have brought to me. By Allah! I suspect you to have dissuaded him from accepting what I wrote to him. You ruined for us a matter which we had hoped to set right. By Allah, al-Husayn will not surrender. An unsubmissive soul exists within him!”

Shamir said to him: “Tell me what you are going to do. Are you going to carry out the instructions of your governor and kill his enemy? Otherwise leave the command of the army to me.”

Ibn Sa‘d] replied: “No! There is no honour for you! I will carry that out. Here you are!] Take control of the foot soldiers!”

The Safe-Conduct of Ibn Ziyad for ‘Abbas and His Brothers

Then Shamir went and stopped near the companions of al-Husayn (as) and said: “Where are the sons of our sister?” So ‘Abbas, Ja’far and ‘Uthman, the sons of ‘Ali (as), came forward and said: “What is the matter and what do you want?”

He said: “You are guaranteed security, O sons of my sister!”

The young men replied him: “May Allah curse you -even if you be our uncle- and curse your security. You

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offer us protection while the son of the Prophet of Allah (‘s) remains without protection!”

Hearing this,] Kuzman, the servant of ‘Abdullah bin Abi al-Mahall [bin Hizam al-Kilabi]] called them out and said: “This is the security which your uncle has sent it to you.”

So the young men said: “Convey our salutations to our uncle and tell him: ‘We do not need your security. The protection of Allah is better than that of the son of Sumayyah!’”(١)

Obstructing the Imam (as) and His Companions from Reaching the Water

:[Umar bin Sa'd received a letter from 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad which read [as follows'

Prevent al-Husayn and his companions from reaching water. They should not taste" [even] a drop of it as was done to the commander of the faithful, 'Uthman bin 'Affan, "!the pious, the chaste and the oppressed

So 'Umar bin Sa'd dispatched 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj(۲) with five hundred horsemen who halted at the banks of the Euphrates and prevented al-Husayn (as) and his companions from drinking [even] a drop from it. This was three days before al-.Husayn's martyrdom

When the thirst became unbearable for al-Husayn (as) and his companions, he called his brother 'Abbas bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib and sent him along with thirty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers with whom he sent twenty waterskins. They advanced and neared the water at night with Nafi' bin Hilal al-Jamali(۳) leading the way with the .standard

"?As they approached] 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj al-Zubaidi said: "Who is that]

.[He said: "Nafi' bin Hilal]

"?Amru asked: "Why have you come'

Nafi' replied: "We have come to drink from this water which you

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.(See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۰) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۴۹ -۱

We have given his biography under the reports about the noblemen of Kufah who -۲ .were with Ibn Ziyad

Al-Tabari: He had sent his horse with the four men from Kufah towards the Imam -۳ (as) alongwith Tirimmah bin 'Adiyy [as a guide]. This is the first report from which it is known that Nafi' reached the Imam (as) at Karbala'. And he is the one who had

stabbed 'Ali bin Qur¨ah al-Ansari -the brother of 'Amru bin Qur¨ah- who was with 'Umar bin Sa'd (۵:۴۳۴). Nafi' had written his name on top of his arrows and killed with them twelve men from the enemy until finally both his arms were broken and Shamir .(took him as a captive and later killed him after taking him to 'Umar bin Sa'd (۵:۴۴۲

".obstructed us from

".Amru] said: "Drink and enjoy']

Nay by Allah, I shall not have a drop from it while al-Husayn is thirsty and these of his" .companions", said [Nafi' while he pointed to them]. So they all appeared before him

He said: "There is no way these people can drink, as we have been placed here only to ".prevent them from reaching the water

When [the foot soldiers from among the] companions of Nafi' drew near him, he [told .them]: "Fill your waterskins!" So they forced their way and filled their waterskins

Seeing this] 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj and his companions rushed towards them, but 'Abbas] bin 'Ali and Nafi' bin Hilal attacked them and stopped them [from reaching the foot soldiers]. Then both of them went to the foot soldiers and told them: "[You] move [ahead]" while they were protecting them. [In the meanwhile,] 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj and his army came back and chased them for a while. The companions of al-Husayn (as) .managed to return to him with the waterskins

That night] Nafi' bin Hilal had stabbed one of the companions of 'Amru bin Hajjaj'] such that the wound later festered and he died of it.(۱) [Accordingly, this is the first person to have been killed from Ibn Sa'd's army after he sustained injuries on that [.night

The Events of The ۹th of Muharram

(Ibn Sa'd Advances Against al-Husayn (as

Harith bin Hasirah] reports: "Ibn Sa'd announced after the 'asr prayers [saying]: "O] soldiers of Allah! Get on your mounts and receive the good tidings [of Heaven]!" The

soldiers mounted and advanced against [al-Husayn (as) and

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۱ - Al-Tabari (۵:۴۱۲): "Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid has narrated to me from Humaid bin Muslim al-Azdi that ..." See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۷۸) [who related the report] from Abu Mikhnaf through the same chain of narration; and al-Irshad (pg.۲۲۸) from Humaid bin Muslim.

his companions].

Al-Husayn (as) was [at that time] sitting in front of his tent with his sword on his lap and his head on his knees having a short sleep. His sister, Zainab, heard the clamour [of the approaching soldiers] so she went near her brother and said: "O my brother! Do you not hear the noises that have drawn nearer?!"

So al-Husayn (as) raised his head and said: "I have just seen the Messenger of Allah (S) in my sleep and he said to me: 'You are coming to us [soon]." So his sister struck her face and cried out [in grief]: "Woe onto me!" So he said to her: "May you not see any distress O sister. Keep calm, may the All-merciful have mercy on you!"

'Abbas bin 'Ali (as) said: "O my brother! The army has come!" So al-Husayn (as) got up and said: "O 'Abbas! Get on your mount, may I be sacrificed for you -O brother, and go to meet them and ask them: 'What is the matter with you? What has appeared [appropriate] to you? And what has brought them?"

So 'Abbas went to meet them with about twenty horsemen, among whom were Zuhair bin al-Qain and Habib bin Mu³ahir. 'Abbas said to them: "What has appeared to you? What do you want?"

They replied: "We have received an order from the governor that we should offer you [an opportunity] to submit to his authority, or else we should force you to do so."

He said: "Do not hurry until

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”.I have gone back to Abu ‘Abdillah and told him what you have said

”.So they stopped and said: “Go to him and inform him, and tell us what he says to you

Abbas went galloping back to al-Husayn (as) to give him the information. His‘ companions stood [by the enemy] addressing the people. Habib bin Mu^{3}ahir(١) said to Zuhair bin al-Qain: “Talk to this people if you like, or else I shall speak to them.” So ”.Zuhair said to him: “You came up with this [idea], so you be the one to talk to them

Habib bin MuZahir told him: “By Allah, the most wretched of the people before Allah tomorrow are a people who shall meet Him while they are guilty of having killed the children, progeny and household of His Prophet (S), and the devout men of this city who strive [in worship] at dawn and who remember Allah much.” [He said this to Zuhair bin al-Qain such that the army could hear him, and among those who heard .[was ‘Azarah bin Qais

”!Azarah bin Qais(٢) said to him: “You are asserting purity for yourself‘

So Zuhair replied him: “O ‘Azarah! Allah has indeed purified and guided his soul. Fear Allah O ‘Azarah; I am [sincerely] advising you. I beseech you by Allah, O ‘Azarah, not to ”!be of those who help the misled in killing the pure souls

Azarah said: “O Zuhair! We had never been -in our opinion- among the followers of‘ the people of this House. Rather, you were a

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١ - We mentioned him when discussing those among the followers of the Imam (as) .who wrote to him from Kufah

٢ - We have given his biography when mentioning those among the hypocrites of .(Kufah who had written to the Imam (as

(partisan of ‘Uthman (‘uthmani).”(١

Zuhair answered: “Have you still not come to know –after seeing my stand- that I am one of them! By Allah! I never wrote to [al-Husayn], nor did I send to him any messenger, nor did I promise him my support. But it was the way that brought us together. When I saw [al-Husayn], he made me recall the Messenger of Allah (S) and his position to him. So I knew the enemy he is going to face, that is your party. So I decided to help him and be in his party and lay down my life for him, in defence of those rights of Allah and His Prophet (S) which have been violated by you.”

When ‘Abbas bin ‘Ali came to al-Husayn (as) with the proposal of ‘Umar bin Sa‘d, he said to [‘Abbas]: “Go back to them and if you can, delay them until the morning and keep them away from us this evening. Perhaps we may [be able to] spend the night praying to our Lord, supplicating to him and seeking his forgiveness; for he knows that I have always loved praying to Him, reciting His Book, [making] many invocations and seeking His forgiveness.”

So ‘Abbas bin ‘Ali (as) galloped his horse and went back to them and said: “O people! Abu ‘Abdillah is requesting you to grant him respite for tonight, so that he may consider the matter; for there has not taken place any discussion [so far] between you and him concerning this

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۱- This is the first report related to the events of Karbala’ in which this title has been attributed to Zuhair bin al-Qain. This is the first title that caused disunity among the Muslims in their differences about whether ‘Uthman was on the right or wrong. Accordingly, one who followed ‘Ali (as) was called ‘alawi or shi’i, while the one who followed ‘Uthman and believed that he was on the right and was killed unjustly, came to be known as ‘uthmani.

proposal]. So we shall now meet in the morning, if Allah wills. [Either] we would give] consent to it and do what you want from us and are insisting upon; or we would dislike it and therefore reject it.”

By doing so [al-Husayn (as)] intended to keep them away that night so that he might

.[have the opportunity to] give his instructions and make his will to his family

"?Umar bin Sa'd said: "O Shamir! What do you think'

".He said: "It is up to you. You are the commander and the decision lies with you

Umar] said: "I wish I had not been there!" He then turned to his army and said: "What'] "?is your opinion

Amru bin al-Hajjaj bin Salamah al-Zubaidi said: "Glory be to Allah! By Allah! [Even] if' they were from Dailam and had asked from you such [a thing], it would have been ".incumbent on you to grant them their demand

Qais bin Ash'ath(١) said: "Grant them their request. I swear by my life that they are "!definitely going to fight you tomorrow morning

Ibn Sa'd] said: "By Allah, if I knew that they are going to do so, I would not have left] (them for tonight."(٢

Ali bin al-Husayn (as) says: "Then a messenger came to us from 'Umar bin Sa'd and' stood at a point where he could be heard. He said: 'We have granted you a day until tomorrow. If you surrendered, we will send you to our governor, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. But if you refused to do so, then

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Al-Tabari: On the day of 'Ashura' he was leading the quarter of Kindah and Rabi'ah -١ (۵:۴۲۲). He was the one who plundered the Imam's silken cloak and came to be known after that as 'Qais of the cloak' (۵:۴۵۳). He was with Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan, 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj and 'Azarah bin Qais in carrying the heads of the companions of the Imam (as) to Ibn Ziyad in Kufah (۵:۴۵۶). He was leading the Kindah who were carrying thirteen of these heads (۵:۴۶۸). Ibn al-Ash'ath is the brother of Muhammad bin Ash'ath .(-the assassin of Muslim, and the brother of Ja'dah -the killer of al-Hasan (as

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۱۵): "[I narrate] on the authority of Harith bin Hasirah, from Sharik al- -٢ .(Amiri who said..." See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٣٠

(we are not going to leave you!”(1)

'The Events Of The Night Of ‘Ashura

'The Speech of al-Husayn (as) on the Night of ‘Ashura

Ali bin al-Husayn (as) says: “Al-Husayn gathered his companions after ‘Umar bin Sa‘d‘ went back, and this was just before the sunset. So I went near to hear him [even :though] I was sick. I heard my father say to his companions

I praise Allah, the Blessed, the Exalted, with the best of praises. I praise him in ease“ and difficulty. O Allah, I praise You for honouring us with the prophethood (nubuwwah), teaching us the Qur’an and making us comprehend your religion. You gave us [the faculties of] hearing, sight and the hearts; and you did not make us .among the idolaters

I know of no companions more loyal and more virtuous than my companions, nor of any household more righteous and more close-knit than my household. May Allah .reward you all the best of rewards on my behalf

Indeed, I think tomorrow is the day of our [encounter] with these enemies. I deem appropriate that you should all freely leave [me]. I have exempted you of your obligations towards me. Here is the night which has drawn its veil on you, so take it as a mount [and leave].(2) Let each one of you hold the hand of one of my family members and get scattered to your [respective] residences and cities so that may Allah deliver [you]; for these people are after me only, and if they get hold of me they ”.will not be concerned about the rest

The Stand of the Hashimites

(Abbas bin ‘Ali (as‘

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۱۷): “Harith bin Hasirah has related to me from ‘Abdullah bin Sharik al- -۱

"...Amiri, who reported from 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as) that

۲- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۱۸): "Harith bin Hasirah has narrated to me from 'Abdullah bin Sharik al-Amiri, who narrated from 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as) that..." See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۷۴) and al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۱) from Imam 'Ali bin al-Husayn (as).

was the first to talk. He said to him: "Why should we do [that]? Just in order to remain alive after you?! May Allah never show us that [day]!"

Then his brothers and the sons [of al-Husayn (as)] and the sons of his brother [al-Hasan (as)], and the two sons of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far [Muhammad and 'Abdullah], all spoke in similar vein.

Al-Husayn (as) then said: "O sons of 'Aqil, the martyrdom of Muslim is a sacrifice sufficient on your part. Go as I permit you [to leave]."

They answered: "What will the people say! They will say that we deserted our master, our leader and the sons of our uncles, who was the best of the uncles; that we did not [even] shoot an arrow alongside them, nor did we stab with the spears and strike with the swords with them, nor did we know what they did. Nay, by Allah! We will never do [such a thing]. Rather we will ransom you with our lives, our wealth and our children. We will fight by your side until we enter the place you shall enter! May Allah make life abominable [for us] after your [death]!"(۱)

The Stand of His Companions

Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asadi(۲) then stood up and said: "If we leave you alone, what excuse would we give to Allah for not fulfilling your rights [on us]? By Allah! [I will fight] till I break my spear in their chests. I will strike them with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand. I

۱- See Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۷۴), al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۱) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۴۹)).

۲- We have given his biography along with other Shi'ite noblemen of Kufah who were

with Muslim bin ‘Aqil. This is the first report among the reports of Karbala’ in which his name has appeared, without there being any mention in the books of history about .how he got there

will not leave you. If I have no weapon to fight them with, I will throw stones at them "!in your defence until I die with you

After Ibn ‘Awsajah] Sa’id bin ‘Abdullah al-Hanafi said: “By Allah we will not leave you] until Allah knows that we have preserved through you [the company of] the Prophet of Allah (S) in his absence. By Allah! If I knew that I would be killed and then be revived and then be burnt alive and then scattered, and that would be done to me seventy times, I would [still] not leave you until I met my death [fighting] on your behalf! Why should I not do so when it is only [a matter of] getting killed once? Then, it is an ".everlasting honour

Zuhair bin al-Qain said: “By Allah! I wish I would be killed and then revived and again be killed until I get killed like this a thousand times, so that Allah should avert death "!from you and from these youths of your household

A group among his companions [then rose] and said: “By Allah! We will not part with you; may our souls be sacrificed for you. We will protect you with our throats, foreheads and hands. If we get killed, then we would have fulfilled and performed ".what lies on us

Another] group among his companions [also stood] and spoke words to the same] (effect.(۱)

’The Imam (as) on the Night of ‘Ashura

Ali bin al-Husayn bin ‘Ali (as) says: “I was sitting on the night before the morning of‘ the day

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Al-Tabari (۵:۴۱۸): “‘Abdullah bin ‘Asim al-Faishi has related to me from Dahhak bin - ۱

‘Abdullah al-Mushriqi al-Hamdani who said…” See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.٧۴; Najaf edition), Tarikh al-Ya’qubi (٢:٢٣١) and al-Irshad (pg.٢٣١).

in which my father was martyred, and my aunt Zainab was looking after me, when my father distanced himself [from us] to a tent erected for him together with his companions. Huwayy(1), the slave of Abu Dharr al-Ghaffari, was by his side preparing his sword and putting it right, while my father recited the following verses:

O Time! Shame on you as a friend!

At the days dawning and the sun’s setting,

How many a companion or seeker [of yours] will be a corpse!

Time will not be satisfied with any substitute.

Indeed the matter will rest with the Mighty One,

And every living creature will have to journey along my path.

He repeated it twice or three times. I understood it and realized what he meant. Tears choked me and I pushed them back and kept silent, as I knew that tribulation had come upon us. As for my aunt, she heard what I heard, [but since] she was a woman - and tenderness and grief are part of a woman- she could not control herself. She jumped up and went near [al-Husayn], while her clothes dragged on the ground and her head was uncovered. She cried out: “What a bereavement! If only death would deprive me of life! [There was] a day when my mother, Fatimah, died and [then] my father, ‘Ali and [then] al-Hasan, my brother. Only you have remained O the successor and the surviving of those who have gone!”(2)

So al-Husayn (as) looked at her and said: “O sister, do not let Shaitan take

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1- Al-Irshad (pg.٢٣٢) names him as Juwain, while Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.٧۵) refers to him as Jaun, and so has al-Manaqib of Ibn Shahrashub (٢:٢١٨), al-Tadhkirah of Ibn al-

Jawzi (٢:١٩) and al-Maqtal of al-Khwarazmi (١:٢٣٧). Al-Tabari does not mention anything about him, neither before this nor after this. Nor does he say anything about .(his martyrdom alongside the Imam (as

٢- This has appeared in al-Irshad (pg.٢٣٢) also, but with a slight literal difference in the wordings of the last statement. Ibn al-Jawzi also brings this report in al-Tadhkirah ".(pg.٢٥٠; Najaf edition) with the following addition: "...and she then struck her face

".away your forebearance

My aunt] said: "May my father and mother be your ransom, O Aba 'Abdillah! Are you] "!ready to die? May my life be sacrificed for you

Here my father] swallowed his grief and his eyes filled with tears and he said:] "[Remenber] if the sandgrouse are left [alone] at night, they will sleep [i.e. had these ".[people left me on my own, I would not have come here

At this] she lamented: "O my grief! Is your life going to be violently wrenched from] you?! This is too wounding to my heart and harsher to my soul", and then she struck her face and grabbed the upper part of her garment and [began to] tear it and fell .down in a faint

So al-Husayn (as) got up and sprinkled water on to her face and consoled her [saying]: "O sister, fear Allah and take comfort in the consolation of Allah. Know that the people on the earth are [all] going to die and the inhabitants of heaven will not live [forever]. Everything is going to perish except the face of Allah who created the earth by His power, sends forth creatures and [ultimately] they [all] return [back to him]. He is unique and alone. [O my sister,] my father was better than me, my mother was better than me and my brother was better than me. They and I and every Muslim have an ".(ideal model in the Prophet of Allah (S

Al-Husayn (as)] tried to console her by this and the]

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like and then said to her: "Sister! I swear to you -and I [always] keep my oaths- that

you must not tear your clothes, nor scratch your face, nor cry out in grief and loss ".when I die

.Al-Husayn (as)] then brought her and made her sit with me]

He [then] went to his companions and ordered them to bring their tents closer together and to make the tent-pegs come within the area of each other's tents. [He also asked them] to remain between the tents except the side from which the enemy (could come against them.(١

Al-Husayn (as) then gathered stalks and firewood to a sunken place –which was similar to a canal- behind their tents. They dug it at some hour of the night and turned it into something like a ditch. Then they filled it with those firewood and reed and said: "When they attack and fight us, we will set it on fire, so that we are not attacked from (the rear and we would fight them from one side."(٢

'Al-Husayn (as) and His Companions on the Night of 'Ashura

When the night entered al-Husayn (as) and his companions spent the whole night in .performing prayers, seeking forgiveness and making supplications

Dahhak bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriqi al-Hamdani, the one among the companions of al-] [:Husayn (as) who was saved from being killed reports

A group of their horsemen passed us keeping watch over us, while al-Husayn (as)" was reciting: 'Let the faithless not suppose that the respite that We grant them is good for their souls; We give them respite only that they may

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Al-Tabari (۵:۴۲۰): "Harith bin Ka'b and Abu al-Dahhak have related to me from 'Ali -١ bin al-Husayn that..." See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۷۵; Najaf edition), al-Ya'qubi (۲:۲۳۰) and al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۲; Najaf edition), all of whom narrated this report from .(Imam al-Sajjad (as

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۲۱): "[I relate] on the authority of 'Abdullah bin 'Asim from Dahhak bin -٢

‘Abdullah al-Mushriqi who said…” See also al-Irshad (pg.٢٣٣) who narrated it from .Dahhak bin ‘Abdullah

increase in sin, and there is a humiliating punishment for them. Allah will not leave the faithful in your present state, until he has separated the bad ones from the good.’[(١)] So a man from among those horsemen –who were keeping watch over us- heard that and said: ‘By the Lord of the Ka’bah, we are pure and have been distinguished from ”.you

Dahhak says:] “I recognized the person and said to Burair bin Hudhhair [al-] Hamdani][(٢)]: ‘Do you know who this man is?’ He said: ‘No.’ I said: ‘He is Abu Harb al-Sabi’i al-Hamdani ‘Abdullah bin Shahr. He is a joker and an idle [person], [though] a noble, brave, and a killer whom Sa’id bin Qais[(٣)] had –as if- once imprisoned for a ’!crime

So Burair bin Hudhair said to him: ‘O sinner! Has Allah made you among the pure ’!?ones

’?He said: ‘Who are you

’.Burair] replied: ‘I am Burair bin Hudhair]

Abu Harb] said: ‘Verily, we belong to Allah! How painful it is for me. By Allah, You are] ’!destroyed. By Allah, you are destroyed O Burair

Burair] said: ‘O Aba Harb! Is there any way for you to repent for your great sins?! For] by Allah, we are the ones who are indeed the pure, while you people are, indeed, the ’!impure ones

’!Abu Harb mockingly] said: ‘And I bear witness to that]

’!?So I [i.e. Dahhak] said to him: ‘Woe onto you! Did your knowledge not benefit you

Abu Harb scornfully] said: ‘May I be sacrificed for you. Who will then carouse with] Yazid bin

۱- Qur'an, ۳:۱۷۸-۱۷۹.

۲- The predominant view about his father's name is what has appeared in al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۳) and other works (i.e. Hudhair). The above narration is the first among the narrations of Karbala' in which his name has appeared, without there being any mention of how he joined the Imam (as). Al-Tabarii: Burair was the best reciter of the Qur'an in Kufah (۵:۴۳۱) and a devout man. He was the first person who stood up to fight in the beginning of the battle [on the day of 'Ashura'], but the Imam (as) ordered him to sit down (۵:۴۲۹). Burair is the one who said to 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abdi Rabbih al-Ansari: "By Allah, my people know that I never loved falsehood both as a youth and as an old man. But -by Allah- I am happy with what we are going to achieve! By Allah, there is nothing between us and the hur al-'ain [as a barrier] except that these people should strike us with their swords. And I wish that they would do so" (۵:۴۲۳). Burair used to say that 'Uthman bin 'Affan was an extravagant [personality] and that Mu'awiyah bin Abi Sufyan was a person who went astray and misled others, and that the leader of the truth and guidance was 'Ali bin Abi Talib (as). He challenged a man from the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd called Yazid bin Ma'qil about the truth of the aforementioned beliefs and prayed that the one who is right among the two should kill the one who is on the wrong. He then fought him and killed him (۵:۴۳۱).

۳- Al-Tabari: Sa'id bin Qais al-Hamdani was the governer of Hamadan and was later dismissed from the post by Sa'id bin al-'As al-Ashraq, the governor of Kufah, who then appointed him over Rayy in ۳۳ H (۵:۳۳۰). 'Ali (as), the Commander of the Faithful, had sent Ibn Qais together with Shabath bin Rib'i and Bashir bin 'Amru before the battle [of Siffin] to Mu'awiyah, inviting him to obedience and to [join] the community [of the beievers] (۴:۵۷۳). Sa'id was fighting along side 'Ali in Siffin (۴:۵۷۴). He was among the first people to carry out the instructions of the Commander of the Faithful (as) (۵:۷۹). Amir al-Mu'minin (as) had dispatched him to chase Sufyan bin 'Auf after the latter's raid on al-Anbar and al-Hait. So he came out in pursuit of them until he passed al-Hait but could not reach them (۵:۱۳۴). There is no mention of him after this report, or any trace of him in [the books of] history. [In any case,] his imprisonment of Abu Harb al-Sabi'i was, perhaps, during his governership over Hamadan or Rayy during the time of

.‘Uthman

’!?Adharah al-Anzi who is here with me‘

Burair] said: ‘May Allah make your opinion vile! You are in any way a fool!’ [Hearing] (this,] he went away.”(١)

’The Day Of ‘Ashura

point

On the day of ‘Ashura’ –which fell on Saturday- ‘Umar bin Sa‘d offered the morning (prayers and then came out with his men.(٢

Abdullah bin Zuhair al-Azdi(٣) was at the time leading the quarter of the people of‘ Madinah. The quarter of Madhhij and Asad was led by ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Abi Sabrah al-Ju’fi(۴), while Qais bin al-Ash’ath bin Qais [al-Kindi] was in charge of the group of Rabi’ah and Kindah. Hurr bin Yazid al-Riyahi [al-Tamimi al-Yarbu’i] was leading the .quarter of Tamim and Hamdan

Umar bin Sa‘d put ‘Amru bin al-Hajjaj al-Zubaidiyy on his right wing and Shamir bin‘ Dhi al-Jaushan al-Dabbabi al-Kilabi on his left wing. ‘Azarah bin Qais al-Ahmasi was given the command of the cavalry and Shabath bin Rib’i al-Riyahi [al-Tamimi] of the (foot soldiers. He gave the standard to Dhuwaid, his retainer.(۵

When the cavalry approached al-Husayn (as) in the morning, he raised his hands and said: “O Allah, it is You in whom I trust amid all grief. You are my hope amid all difficulties. You are my trust and provision in everything that happens to me. How many a calamity in which the heart may seem to weaken and trickery may seem to diminish and the friend may seem to desert [me] and the enemy may seem to rejoice, [but] I brought [it] before You and complained to You

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١ - Al-Tabari (۵:۴٢١): “Abu Mikhnaf says: ‘[I relate] from Dahhak bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqi on the authority of ‘Abdullah bin ‘Asim ...’”

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۲۱-۴۲۲): “Abu Mikhnaf reports: ‘[I narrate] on the authority of ‘Abdullah -۲ ”...bin ‘Asim from Dahhak bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqi

Al-Tabari: He was on the right wing of ‘Adiyy bin Wattad –the leader of the pilgrims -۳ from Rayy- during his battle with Mutarraf bin al-Mughirah bin Shu’bah in Isfahan (۶:۲۹۶). The last thing we read about him in al-Tabari is that he was among the guards of al-Saghd in ۱۰۲ H and sustained many injuries therein, such that he became like a porcupine as a result of the arrows that struck his body (۶:۶۱۳). There is no mention of .[him before Karbala’ [in the books of history

Al-Tabari: He is the one whose name appeared in the list of those who testified -۴ against Hujr bin ‘Adiyy in the year ۵۱ H (۵:۲۷۰). He was leading the foot soldiers from the Madhhij and Asad. Shamir had incited him to slaughter (dhibh) al-Husayn (as) but .(he refused and cursed him (۵:۴۵۰

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۲۲): “Fudhail bin Fadij al-Kindi has narrated to me on the authority of -۵ ”...Muhammad bin Bishr from ‘Amru al-Hadhrami that

of it; that was because of my turning away from [all] other than You; and You averted it and warded it off. You are the Master of all blessings, the Possessor of all goodness (and the Ultimate Resort of all desire.”(۱

Dahhak bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqi, the one among the companions of al-Husayn (as)] :who survived on the day of ‘Ashura’] reports

When they approached us and saw the fire burning the firewood and cane -which we“ had set on fire behind our tents to prevent them from attacking us from the rear- one of them came towards us galloping [his horse] while he was fully armed. He did not speak to us but just passed by our tents and had a look at them, but he saw nothing except the firewood that was ablaze. So he returned and called out at the top of his ’?voice: ‘O Husayn! Are you hurrying to the fire before the Day of Resurrection

’?Al-Husayn (as) said: ‘Who is that? [It sounds] like Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan

’.His companions said: ‘Yes, may Allah guide you. It is him

’!Al-Husayn] then said: ‘Son of a goat-herdess! You deserve most to be burnt therein]

So Muslim bin ‘Awsajah said to him: ‘O son of the Messenger of Allah! May I be your ransom, should I not shoot him with an arrow? He is within my range and I never miss ’.the target. This vicious man is one of the great tyrants

But] al-Husayn (as) said to him: ‘Do not shoot at him, for I]

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۱ - Al-Tabari (۵:۴۲۳): “[I relate this] on the authority of some of the companions [of Abu Mikhnaf] who reported from Abu Khalid al-Kahili...” See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۳) who narrated it from ‘Ali bin al-Husayn (as). Since Abu Khalid is among the companions of Imam al-Sajjad (as), he must be relating the report from him, though al-Tabari does .not explicitly mention this

(dislike to begin [fighting] against them.”(۱

(The First Speech of the Imam (as

When the enemy had neared him, he [called] for his mount and mounted it. He then :[called out at he top of his voice which was heard by most of the people [and said

O people! Listen to my words and do not hurry [to attack me] so that I may remind“ you of the duties you have towards me, so that I may free myself from any blame for coming to you. If you accept my excuse, believe in what I say and give me justice, you will become happier through that and you will have no reason to fight against me. [But] if you do not accept my excuse and do not give me justice of your own accord, ‘So conspire together, along with your partners, leaving nothing vague in your plan, then carry it out against me without giving me any respite.’(۲) ‘My guardian is indeed (Allah who sent down the Book, and He takes care of the righteous.’”(۳

When his sisters heard what he said, they screamed and lamented. His daughters also [began] weeping and their voices rose. So [al-Husayn (as)] sent to them his brother, ‘Abbas bin ‘Ali, and his son, ‘Ali, and told them: “Make them silent. For by my ”.life, they are going to weep even more

When the women became quite, he praised Allah and extolled Him and mentioned what He is entitled to. He called for blessings on Muhammad (S) and on the angels and .the prophets

Here the reporter]

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١- Al-Tabari (٥:٤٢٣): "'Abdullah bin 'Asim has related to me saying: 'Dahhak al-Mushriqi narrated to me..." See al-Irshad (pg.٢٣٤).

٢- Qur'an, ١٠:٧١.

٣- Qur'an, ٧:١٩۶.

says:] "By Allah, I have never heard a speaker before or after him more eloquent in his ".speech than he was

He then said: "Trace back my lineage and consider who I am?! Then look back at yourselves and remonstrate with yourselves. Then consider whether it is right for you to kill me and to violate my sanctity. Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet, and the son of his successor and cousin, the first of the believers in Allah and the one who believed [first] in what the Messenger brought from his Lord? Was not Hamzah, the lord of the martyrs, the uncle of my father?! Was not Ja'far, the martyr, the one who flies [in Heaven] and the one with two wings, my uncle?! Have you not heard the words common amidst you that the Messenger of Allah (S) said to me and my brother: '?'These [two] are the lords of the youths of Paradise

If you believe in what I am saying, [then know that] it is the truth, for, by Allah, I never thought of lying since I learnt that Allah hated the liars and that he punishes the one who lies. [But] if you regard it as a lie, then there are among you those who, if you asked them about it, would inform you [that the Prophet (S) had said so]. Ask Jabir bin 'Abdillah al-Ansari(١), or Abu Sa'id al-Khudhri(٢), or Sahl bin Sa'd al-Sa'idi(٣), or Zayd bin Arqam(۴),

or Anas bin Malik(۵)

۱- Al-Tabari: Jabir bin 'Abdullah al-Ansari refused to pay allegiance to Mu'awiyah at the hands of Busr bin Artat in the year ۴۰ H, that was before the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali (as). Jabir maintained that this was an allegiance to falsehood. But he came under pressure from Busr and had to give allegiance out of fear for his life (۵:۱۳۹). In the year ۵۰ H, when Mu'awiyah went on pilgrimage and was intending to move the pulpit and the staff of the Prophet of Allah [s] to Sham, Jabir stopped him and he desisted [from doing that] (۵:۲۳۹). In the year ۷۴ H when Hajjaj entered Madinah on the orders of 'Abd al-Malik, he treated the companions of the Prophet [s] contemptuously and branded their necks, among them was Jabir bin 'Abdillah al-Ansari (۶:۱۹۵).

۲- Al-Tabari: When the Holy Prophet (S) was examining his companions for the battle of Uhud, he rejected Abu Sa'id because of being too young (۲:۵۰۵). Abu Sa'id used to relate traditions from the Holy Prophet (S) on the merits of 'Ali (as) (۳:۱۴۹). However, he was one of those who refused to pay allegiance to 'Ali (as) after the murder of 'Uthman and was among his partisans ('uthmani) (۴:۴۳۰).

۳- Al-Tabari: He used to relate traditions from the Holy Prophet (S) on the merits of 'Ali (as) (۳:۴۰۹). He also reported that 'Aishah had ordered 'Uthman bin Hunaif to be killed and later to be imprisoned (۴:۴۶۸). He has also narrated reports about 'Ali (as) (۴:۵۴۷). In the year ۷۴ H when Hajjaj entered Madinah on the orders of 'Abd al-Malik, he treated the companions of the Prophet [s] contemptuously and branded their necks, among them was Sahl bin Sa'd. Hajjaj had accused him of betraying 'Uthman (۶:۱۹۵).

۴- Al-Tabari: He used to narrate the merits of 'Ali (as) (۲:۳۱۰). Zayd is the one who informed the Holy Prophet (S) of the words of 'Abdullah bin Ubayy bin Salul, the hypocrite (۲:۶۰۵). He was [also] the one who objected to Ibn Ziyad and stopped him from hitting the lips of Abu 'Abdillah (as) (۵:۴۵۶). Zayd passed away in the year ۶۸ H, as reported in A'lam al-Wara (۴:۱۸۸).

۵- Al-Tabari: It was by the assistance of Anas bin Malik that 'Umar [bin al-Khattab] could appoint Abu Musa al-Ash'ari over Basrah in ۱۷ H (۴:۷۱). He participated in the conquest of Tustar (۴:۸۶). He was among those who aroused people in Basrah to help 'Uthman in the year ۳۵ H (۴:۳۵۲). He was [also] among those in Basrah from whom

Ziyad bin Abih had asked for help in ۴۵ H (۵:۲۲۴). Anas was in Basrah on the day of 'Ashura'. After Ibn Ziyad was killed in ۶۴ H, Ibn al-Zubair appointed him as the governor of Basrah. He led the people in prayers for ۴۰ days (۵:۵۲۸). When Hajjaj took over Madinah in ۶۴ H for 'Abd al-Malik and was treating contemptuously the companions of the Prophet [s] and branding them by their necks, he [also] branded Anas with the intention of humiliating him on account of his acceptance of the governership for Ibn al-Zubair (۶:۱۹۵).

and they will inform you that they have heard this statement from the Prophet of Allah (S) concerning myself and my brother. Is there not [sufficient] in this to prevent you shedding my blood?!"

Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan said: "Whoever understands what you are saying is [indeed] worshipping Allah on the fringe."(۱)

So Habib bin MuZahir said to him: "By Allah, I think you are worshipping Allah on seventy edges. I testify that you are right, you do not understand what he is saying; for indeed Allah has sealed your heart [from the truth]."

Al-Husayn (as) then told them: "If you are in any doubt about this, then are you going to doubt what I am going to say after this? Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet? By Allah, there is no son of the daughter of a prophet, between the East and the West, other than me; neither from among you, nor from other than you. I, only, am the son of the daughter of your Prophet. Now tell me, are you seeking retribution from me for one of your dead whom I have killed, or for property [of yours] which I expropriated, or are you seeking retaliation for a wound [which I have inflicted on one of you]?"

[They remained silent and] did not say anything to him.

Then he called out: "O Shabath bin Rib'i, O Hajjar bin Abjar, O Qais bin al-Ash'ath, O Yazid bin Harith! Did you not write to me [saying]: 'The fruits have

.(See also Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۵۲; Najaf edition -۱

ripened, the gardens have grown green and the water spots have been filled. You are only coming to an army which has been prepared for you. So come?'"

They replied: "We did not!"(۱)

So he said [with amazement]: "Glory be to Allah! Indeed, by Allah you did so." Then he said: "O people! [Now] that you dislike me, let me go away from you to a secured place on this earth."

So Qais bin al-Ash'ath said to him: "Will you not submit to the authority of the sons of your uncle [i.e. the Banu Umayyah]?! They will only treat you the way you wish and nothing detestful will touch you from them!"

Al-Husayn (as) said: "You are the brother of your brother [i.e. Muhammad bin al-Ash'ath]. Do you want the Banu Hashim to seek [retribution] from you for more than the blood of Muslim bin 'Aqil?! Nay by Allah, I will not give them my hand like one who has been humiliated, nor will I submit [to their demands] like the submission (iqrar) of the slaves!(۲) O servants of Allah! 'I seek the protection of my Lord and your Lord, lest you should stone me.'(۳) 'Indeed I seek the protection of my Lord and your Lord from every arrogant one who does not believe in the Day of Reckoning.'"(۴)

Then, [he returned to (his tent)] and made his mount kneel and ordered 'Uqbah bin Sim'an to tie it up and he did so.(۵)

The Speech of Zuhair bin al-Qain

Zuhair bin al-Qain then went out on his thick-tailed (dhanub) horse [while he

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۱- Ibn al-Jawzi writes in al-Tadkhirah (pg.۲۵۱): "They said: 'We do not know what you are talking about. Hurr bin Yazid al-Yarbu'i was one of their chiefs, so he said: 'Yes, by Allah, we have written to you and we are the ones who have invited you to come. May

Allah distance the falsehood and its followers. By Allah, I will not choose this world ".over the hereafter

Both al-Mufid in al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۵) and after him Ibn Nama in Muthir al-Ahzan (pg.۲۶) -۲ have recorded this statement of the Imam (as) in the following manner: "And I will not flee like a slave." Al-Muqarram has preferred [in al-Maqtal] this version [to the one which appears in this text]. However, the more suitable statement [among these two] as an answer to Ibn Ash'ath's question is [that which contains the concept of] 'submission' (iqrar), and not 'fleeing' (firar); because what Ibn al-Ash'ath proposed to the Imam (as) was submission [to the authority of the Banu Umayyah], not to flee [to some secured place]. Although al-Muqarram attests the validity of his preference by citing the following statement of Imam 'Ali (as) regarding Masqalah bin Hubairah: 'And he fled like the fleeing of a slave', but that action of Masqalah does not, in any way, .conform with the circumstances al-Husayn (as) was in, as it is very obvious

.Qur'an, ۴۴:۲۰ -۳

.Qur'an, ۴۰:۲۷ -۴

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۲۳-۴۲۶): "Abu Mikhnaf says: "Abdullah bin 'Asim has narrated to me that -۵ "...Dahhak al-Mushriqi said

:was] fully armed. He said to them

O People of Kufah! Beware of the punishment of Allah, beware! Indeed a Muslim is" obliged to admonish his fellow Muslim brother. So long as the sword does not separate us, we are [all] brothers, following the same religion, members of the same nation and [in that case] you are worthy of our advice. But when the sword comes [inbetween us], the bond [of brotherhood] will get severed. We will become a .community and you will become a [different] community

Allah has put you and us into test through the children of his Prophet, Muhammad (S), so that He may see what we and you are going to do in their right. We are inviting you to support them and to abandon the tyrant, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad; for, indeed, you have only seen evil throughout their rule. They gouged your eyes, severed your hands and legs, mutilated your bodies and crucified you on date palms. They killed the exemplary personalities among you and the reciters of the Qur'an like Hujr bin

".'Adiyy(١) and his companions, Hani' bin 'Urwah and his likes

Hearing this,] they started abusing him and praising 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad and prayed] for him. They said: "By Allah, we will not leave [this place] until after we have killed your master and those with him, or send him and and his companions to the governor, "!'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad as captives

Zuhair said: "O Servants of Allah, the children of Fatimah, may Allah's pleasure be with

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Al-Tabari: Hujr was in the reinforcement troops sent from Yemen to the battle of -١ al-Qadisiyyah in ١۶ H (۴:٢٧). He was among the first people from Kufah to answer to the call of 'Ali (as) for the battle of Jamal (۵:۴٨۵). He was one of those who had risen against 'Uthman (۴:۴٨٨). Hujr was the head of the Madhhij and the Ash'ariyyin, who were from Yemen residing in Kufah (۴:۵٠٠). He was with 'Ali (as) at Siffin and participated in the battle (۴:۵٧۴). He was among the witnesses to the agreed document for [choosing] the two arbitrators at Siffin (۵:۵۴). He was on the command of the right wing of 'Ali (as) in the battle of Nahrawan against the Khawarij (۵:٨۵). In the year ٣٩ H, 'Ali (as) dispatched him with ۴٠٠٠ men from Kufah to encounter the raid of Dahhak bin Qais who had come with ٣٠٠٠ soldiers. Hujr met Dahhak at Tadmur in the Syrian border. He had killed twenty men from Dahhak's army when the night set in and Dahhak fled, so Hujr returned (۵:١٣۵). When Mu'awiyah came to Kufah in the Year of Unity, he appointed Mughirah bin Shu'bah over the city. Mughirah used to abuse 'Ali (as) and Hujr used to strongly refute him. This continued until Mughira died. When Ziyad bin Abih was appointed by Mu'awiyah to replace Mughirah [and he continued with the same practice of abusing 'Ali (as),] Hujr once again stood against him in defence of 'Ali (as). Ziyad thus arrested him and sent him to Mu'awiyah who killed him .((۵:٢٧٠

her, are more entitled to [your] love and help than the son of Sumayyah.(١) If you are not willing to help them, then I seek refuge for you with Allah that you should kill them. Leave this man [alone] with his cousin, Yazid bin Mu'awiyah. For by my life, Yazid will

consider you obedient even if you do not kill al-Husayn (as).”

[Here] Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan shot an arrow at him and said: “Quite! May Allah silence your voice. You have wearied us by your prattle!”

So Zuhair said to him: “O Son of the one who used to urinate on the heels of his feet. I am not speaking to you; you are, indeed, an animal! By Allah, I do not think that you can read properly even two verses from the Book of Allah! Humiliation and a painful punishment is awaiting you on the Day of Resurrection!”

Shamir said to him: “Allah is soon going to kill you and your master!”

[Zuhair] said: “Do you threaten me with death? By Allah, it is dearer for me to die with him than to live with you [people] forever!” He then turned to the people raising his voice and said:

“Servants of Allah! This rude and rough man and his likes should not deceive you with regard to your religion; for by Allah the intercession of Muhammad (S) shall not reach those who spill the blood of his offspring and household, and kill those who helped them and defended their sanctity!”

A man called out

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١ - Al-Tabari: Sumayyah was the adulteress slave. She was among those prostitutes who had banners [on top of their houses reflecting their identity] during the days of Ignorance (jahiliyyah). Six men from Quraish had slept with her and as a result she gave birth to Ziyad. The six men contended for the child but his actual father could not be known. He thus came to be known as Ziyad bin Abih, or Ziyad bin ‘Ubaid, or Ziyad bin Sumayyah. Later, Mu’awiyah claimed him as the son of his father, Abu Sufyan, thus he also came to be known as Ziyad bin Abi Sufyan. When Mu’awiyah appointed him over Kufah, he arrested Hujr and gathered witnesses against him. When Ziyad saw the name of Shaddad bin Bazi’ah among the witnesses, he said: “Has he not a

father to be attributed to him! Take him off from the witnesses." So it was said to him: "He is the brother of al-Husayn, son of Ibn al-Mundhir." Ziyad said: "Then attribute him to his father." So his name was recorded together with that of his father. When Shaddad heard about this incident he retorted: "Woe onto the son of the adulteress! Is not his mother much known than his father is?! By Allah, [Ziyad] has not been attributed but to his mother, Sumayyah!" (۵:۲۷۰). Yazid bin Mufarragh al-Himyari was with 'Abbad bin Ziyad, the brother of 'Ubaidullah, during the wars on Sajistan. They happened to be under constraint when Ibn Mufarragh swore at 'Abbad by reciting the following verses: When Mu'awiyah bin Harb perishes, know that the base of your bowl has broken. Be witness that your mother did not sleep with Abu Sufyan as a chaste woman. It was a dubious affair surrounded by great apprehension and dismay. He also said: Has not the parcel from the man from Yemen reached Mu'awiyah bin Harb, Do you get angry when it is said that your father is chaste, but are pleased when it is said that your father is a fornicator? Know that your kinship with Ziyad is like the relationship of an elephant with the young of a she donkey. A man from descendants of Ziyad called al-Sughda bin Salam bin Harb came to see Mahdi, the Abbasid caliph, while he was looking into public complaints. So he asked him: "Who are you?" The man replied: "Your cousin." "Which cousin of mine are you?" asked Mahdi. So the man traced back his lineage to Ziyad! So Mahdi said to him: "Son of Sumayyah, the adulteress! When did you become my cousin?" He then ordered him to be beaten and taken out. Mahdi then turned towards those who were present and said: "Who has knowledge about the family of Ziyad?" But no one of them knew anything. Later, one of those who were present in the court of Mahdi called Isa bin Musa, or Musa bin Isa, happened to meet Abu 'Ali Sulaiman and requested him to write for him all he has been saying about Ziyad and his family, so that he could take it to Mahdi. So Abu 'Ali wrote and sent it to the caliph through Isa bin Musa. Harun al-Rashid was at that time the governer of Basrah for Mahdi. So Mahdi wrote a letter to Harun al-Rashid instructing him to remove the names of the members of the family of Ziyad from the account books of the treasury (diwan) of the Quraish and the Arabs. Some of what he wrote to him is as follows: "The decision of Mu'awiyah bin Abi Sufyan in claiming Ziyad -son of 'Ubaid who was a slave of the family of 'Alaj, from the tribe of Thaqif- as the son of Abu Sufyan was rejected by the community of the Muslims after the death of

Mu’awiyah. This decision was not accepted even during his lifetime by many personalities known for their contentment, merits, piety and knowledge; that was because they knew well [the personality of] Ziyad, his father and mother. Mu’awiyah had not done that out of piety or guidance, or because of following an upright tradition, or due to the authority he received from the past rightful leaders; rather, he did that [for several reasons:] out of desire to destroy his religion and the hereafter, his determination to oppose the Book and the Sunnah, taking pride in the extension of his kinsmen and influence, and [finally] because he expected him to support and assist him on [the path of] falsehood he was inclined to, from his evil deeds to his evil conduct. [All this on one side,] while the Prophet of Allah (S) has said: ‘The child belongs to the husband (firash) [i.e. the husband of the woman who committed adultery], and the adulterer (‘ahir) gets the stone [i.e. the man who committed adultery with the married woman gets nothing].’ He also said: ‘Whoever is named behind other than his father, or traces back his origin to other than those who are related to him, then the curse of Allah, [His] angels and of the mankind is upon him. Allah will not accept from him repentance or [any] ransom.’ By my life, Ziyad was neither born in the lap of Abu Sufyan [i.e. under his guardianship], nor in his bed [i.e. as a result of his sleeping with Sumayyah]. Nor ‘Ubaid was his slave, nor was Sumayyah his maid. Neither of the two were part of his possession, nor did they become part his property through any means. Therefore, by claiming Ziyad as the son of Abu Sufyan, Mu’awiyah went against the ruling of Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, and against the orders of the Prophet of Allah (S). He followed in that his own desire [becaused he] disliked the truth and wanted to move away from it. Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: ‘And who is more astray than him who follows his desires without any guidance from Allah? Indeed Allah does not guide the wrongdoing lot’ [Qur’an, ۲۸:۵۰]. And Allah tells [Prophet] Dawud (as), whom he had granted wisdom, prophethood and wealth: ‘O Dawud! Indeed We have made you a vicegerent on the earth. So judge between people with justice’ [Qur’an, ۳۸:۲۶]. In a similar incident known to the people who preserve the narrations, when Mu’awiyah was speaking to the associates of the Banu Mughirah from the Makhzum, who intended to claim Nasr bin Hajjaj al-Salami as one of their family members, he threw at them a stone which he had prepared for that beneath his bed –following the words of the Holy Prophet: ‘...And the adulterer

deserves the stone’. So the Banu Mughirah retorted: ‘Should we let you do what you did in the case of Ziyad, but you are not ready to accept what we have done in the case of our companion [i.e. Nasr]? So Mu’awiyah replied: ‘The ruling of the Prophet of Allah (S) is better for you than the judgement of Mu’awiyah!” (٨:١٣١). It is known from here that though Zuhair bin al-Qain was a follower of ‘Uthman before he was guided aright and he answered the call of the Imam (as), he was angry on Mu’awiyah [right from those days]; because of his claiming Ziyad as his family member and killing Hujr bin ‘Adiyy. This shows that, in reality, Zuhair was prepared from within to leave the side of ‘Uthman and to show his resentment for Mu’awiyah, his son Yazid, and their governers, as he was equally ready to answer the call of the Imam (as) for rising .against them

Zuhair] and said: “Abu ‘Abdillah is saying [to you]: “Come back. By my life, if the] believing man from among the people of Fir’aun(١) had admonished his people and did his best in inviting them [to the right path], you also have admonished these people (and done your best, if only admonition and invitation was of benefit to them.”(٢

The Return of Hurr al-Riyahi

When ‘Umar bin Sa‘d began to march [against al-Husayn], Hurr bin Yazid said to him: ”!?“May Allah guide you! Are you going to fight this man

He said: “Yes, by Allah! I am going to fight him a battle the least part of which will be ”.heads falling and severed hands flying

”?Hurr] said: “Is not any of the options he proposed to you acceptable]

Umar bin Sa‘d said: “By Allah, if the matter rested with me, I would have [considered‘ ”.[it]. But your governer has refused [any alternative

So Hurr went and stood apart from the people. With him was a man from his tribe ”?called Qurrah bin Qais.(٣) [Hurr] said: “Qurrah! Have you watered your horse today

”.He replied: “No

[Hurr] asked: "Do you want to water it?"

[Here Qurrah] says that: "By Allah, I thought that (Hurr) intended to leave the battle so that he may not witness it, but was unwilling to be seen by me when he left lest I should report against him. So I asked him: 'I have not watered it, but I am [just] going to water it.' Then I left the point where he was. By Allah, had he told

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۱- The Imam (as) likens him to the believer from the people of Fir'aun because Zuhair was previously a partisan of 'Uthman. So it is as if he was from among the Banu Umayyah [who later changed his stance and joined the camp of truth].

۲- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۲۶): "'Ali bin Han¨alah bin As'ad al-Shami has narrated to me from a man from his tribe called Kathir bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'bi -who witnessed the martyrdom of al-Husayn- that: 'When we advanced against al-Husayn, Zuhair bin al-Qain came out to us…'" This speech has also been related by al-Ya'qubi (۲:۲۳۰; Najaf edition).

۳- We have given his biography under the reports which discuss the arrival of the Imam (as) at Karbala'. Habib bin Mu¨ahir had invited him to help the Imam (as) and he promised him to think about this, but he did not come back. It seems that he is relating this report and claiming it.

me what he was intending to do, I would have gone with him to al- Husayn (as)."

[In the meanwhile,] Hurr gradually began to move closer to al-Husayn (as). A man from among his tribe called Muhajir bin Aws(۱) asked him: "What do you want to do, O son of Yazid? Do you want to attack [them]?"

[Hurr] remained silent and [instead] a great shudder came over him. So the man said: "Son of Yazid! By Allah, the state you are in makes me suspicious. By Allah, I have never seen in you something like this before. If I was asked who was the bravest [man] from the people of Kufah, I would not neglect to mention you. So what is this I see in you [today]?"

Hurr] said: "By Allah, I see myself between Heaven and the fire [of hell]. By Allah, I will] not choose anything before Heaven, even though I am cut to pieces and burnt." [With .(that] he whipped his horse and joined al-Husayn (as

When he saw al-Husayn (as)] he said to him: "May I be your ransom, O son of the] Messenger of Allah! I was your companion who stopped you from returning. I accompanied you along the road and made you stop in this place. By Allah beside whom there is no diety, I did not think that the people would refuse to respond to what you have offered them and that they would ever come to this position [which they have now come to] with regard

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.He, together with al-Sha'bi, were the killers of Zuhair bin al-Qain -۱

to you. Thus I said to myself: I am not concerned if I obey the people in some of the matters, so that they may not think that I no longer obey them. [I told myself] that these people will accept the offer al-Husayn has made to them. By Allah, if I had known that they would not accept that from you, I would not have done what I did with you. [But now] I have come to you repenting to my Lord for what I have committed and [I now intend] to support you until I die before you. Are you going to "?accept this as repentance

The [Imam (as)] said: "Yes, Allah will accept your repentance and forgive you. What is "?your name

(He replied: "I am Hurr bin Yazid."(۱

Al-Husayn] said: "You are indeed a freeman (hurr) as your mother named you. You] ".are free, by the will of Allah, in this world and the hereafter. Get down

Hurr] said: "You will have no horseman better than me. I will fight with them on my] ".horse for sometime and when I come down, [then] that will be my end

".Al-Husayn (as) said: "Do as you deem fine

The Speech of Hurr

So [Hurr] advanced in front of [al-Husayn's] companions and said [addressing the army of Ibn Sa'd]: "O people! Are you not going to accept from al-Husayn what he has offered you so that may Allah save you from having to go to war with him and fight "?him

.They replied: "Here is the commander, 'Umar bin Sa'd

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Perhaps Hurr was armed to the teeth and his head bowed in shame that the Imam -۱ (as) could not recognize him, and so he had to inquire about his identity. Otherwise, he .knew him from before

.Talk to him." So [Hurr] told him all that he had told him and his army before this

Umar [bin Sa'd] replied: "I have done all that I could. If I had a way to that, I would' ".[have certainly considered [his offer

Hurr then turned towards the people and] said: "O people of Kufah! May destruction] befall your mothers! For you summoned him [to come to you], [now] when he has come to you, you have handed him over [to his enemies]! You claimed to fight with your own lives for him, [but] you have begun to attack him in order to kill him. You have laid hold of his life and seized his throat. You have encircled him on every side in order to prevent him from going to the broad land of Allah so that he and his family .might be safe

He has become like a captive in your hands; he has no longer the power over his profit or loss. You have prevented him, his womenfolk, his children, and his companions from [drinking] the water of the Euphrates which Jews, Christians and Majians may drink, and in which the pigs and the dogs of Sawad wallow. Here are the [family of al-Husayn] who have been overcome by thirst. How wickedly you have treated the offspring left by Muhammad after him! May Allah not give you water to drink on the Day of Thirst if you do not repent and desist from this stand of your's on this

(day and at this moment."(۱)

Some of the foot-soldiers attacked him by shooting arrows at him. So he went and (stood infront of al-Husayn (as).(۲)

One of the people who had advanced [from Kufah] with 'Umar bin Sa'd against al-Husayn was Yazid bin Ziyad bin Muhasir. When they rejected the conditions [and the offer] of al-Husayn (as), Yazid got inclined to [al-Husayn (as) and joined him].(۳) [Therefore, he was among those who were guided on the day of 'Ashura' by the .[speech of Hurr al-Riyahi

The Beginning Of The Battle

point

Umar bin Sa'd advanced towards [the camp of al-Husayn (as)] and called out:' "Dhuwaid!(۴) Bring your standard closer!" So he brought it nearer. [Ibn Sa'd] then put an arrow in his bow and let it fly. He said: "Be witnesses that I was the first [person] to shoot."(۵) When 'Umar bin Sa'd came closer and shot an arrow, the people began to .shoot at each other

Then Yasar, the retainer of Ziyad bin Abi Sufyan, and Salim, the retainer of 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad, came forward and said: "Who is ready to combat us? Let some of you come ".forward

So Habib bin MuZahir and Burair bin Hudhair jumped up [to go to meet them], but al-".Husayn (as) said to them: "Sit down

Then 'Abdullah bin 'Umair al-Kalbi(۶) stood and said: "O Aba 'Abdillah –may Allah have mercy on you, allow me to go and meet them." Al-Husayn (as) found him to be tall, strong and with broad shoulders. Al-Husayn (as) said: "I think he can kill his peers! Go

.(See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۵) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۵۲ -۱

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۲۷): "[Abu Mikhnaf says: 'I relate on the authority of Abu Janab al-Kalbi -۲ .(from 'Adiyy bin Harmalah who said…" See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۵

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۵): "Fudhail bun Khudaij al-Kindi has narrated to me that Yazid bin -۳ "…Ziyad, who is Abu al-Sha'sha' al-Kindi, from the Banu Bahdalah

.'Al-Mufid refers to him in al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۳۲۳۶; Najaf edition) as 'Duraid -۴

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۲۹): "[Abu Mikhnaf says: 'I narrate on the authority of Saq'ab bin Zuhair -۵ .(and Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid, from Humaid bin Muslim…" See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۶

Al-Tabari: He had come to Kufah and took up residence near Bi'r al-Ju'd where -۶ people of the tribe of Hamdan used to live. He saw the people being examined at al-Nukhailah in order to be sent against al-Husayn (as). So he inquired about them and was told: 'They are going to be sent against Husayn bin Fatimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (S).' Al-Kalbi said: 'By Allah, I was [very] eager to participate in the jihad against the idolaters. I hope that the jihad against these people, who are going to fight the son of the daughter of their Prophet, is not lesser in reward before Allah than the reward he would have given me for fighting the mushrikin!' (۵:۴۲۹) He had a wife called Umm Wahab. He went to his wife and informed her of what he heard and of what he intended to do. She said: 'You are right. May Allah guide you to the most correct of your affairs. Do so and take me with you!' So he left [Kufah] at night .together with her until he joined al-Husayn (as) and stayed with him

.if you wish." So he went out to meet them

The two [men] said to him: "Who are you." So he gave them his lineage. They said: "We do not know you. Let Zuhair bin al-Qain or Habib bin MuZahir or Burair bin Hudair "!come out against us

Yasar, [the retainer of Ziyad], was ready for combat before Salim [the retainer of 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad]. So al-Kalbi said to [Yasar]: "O son of adulteress! It seems you do not like to combat with any one who comes forward. [Know that] no one is going to come to fight you except that he is better than you." With that he attacked him and .struck him with his sword until he died

While [al-Kalbi] was occupied striking [Yasar] with his sword, Salim [the retainer of 'Ubaidullah] attacked him. [Al-Husayn's companions] cried out [in warning]: "The [other] servant is closing in on you." [Al-Kalbi] did not pay attention to him until [Salim] was upon him and gave him an unexpected blow. [Ibn al-Kalbi] warded off his blow with his left arm but the fingers of his left hand were cut off. Then he turned on [Salim] .and struck him and killed him

:After having killed them both, he recited the following as he was returning

If you do not know me, I am the son of Kalbi. It is sufficient for me as a noble descent .that my family is from the Banu 'Ulaim

I am a man of bitterness and anger, I am not a weakling in the

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.face of disaster

.I guarantee you O Umm Wahab, I will stab and strike them and make my way ahead

.The blow of a young man who believes in the Lord

Umm Wahab, his wife [who was witnessing the combat of al-Kalbi], took up the post [of a tent] and began going towards her husband while she said to him: "May my father and mother be your ransom. Fight for the pure ones, the childeren of Muhammad!" [Seeing this] al-Kalbi tried to send her back where the women were, but she held on to his clothes, pulling it back and forth. She said: "I will never leave you "!until I die along with you

So al-Husayn (as) called her and said: "May you be rewarded the best on behalf of [my] family. Go back to the women – may Allah have mercy on you - and sit with them; ".for women have no obligation to fight

.[Umm Wahab then returned to the [place where the] women [had gathered

The First Attack

Amru bin Hajjaj, who had the command of the right wing of the people, launched an attack on the right wing of [al-Husayn (as)]. When he [and his forces] drew near to al-Husayn (as), [the followers of al-Husayn (as)] knelt down and pointed their spears at them. Hence, the horses [of the attackers] could not come forward against the spears and began to retreat. The [companions of al-Husayn (as)] began to shoot arrows at them, killing some of them and wounding others.(1)

A Miracle and Guidance

A man from the Banu Tamim called

1- Al-Tabari (5:429): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Abu Janab has related to me [saying]..." See also al-Irshad (pg.236; Najaf edition).

Abdullah bin Hawzah [came forward and] stopped in front of al-Husayn (as) and said: "Husayn! Husayn!"

Al-Husayn (as) said: "What do you want?"

He said: "Know that you are going to enter the hell [fire]!"

Al-Husayn (as)] said: "Never! I am advancing to a merciful Lord and an intercessor who is listened to [i.e. the Prophet]. Who is that?"

His companions said to him: "This is Ibn Hawzah."

Al-Husayn (as)] said: "O Lord, drive him into the fire]!"

With that his horse upset him in a creek and he fell in it, [such that] his leg was stuck in the stirrups and he fell to the ground headfirst. The horse galloped off [dragging] him [along] while his head struck every stone and tree until he died!(1)

Masruq bin Wail says: "I was at the front of the cavalry that was advancing towards [the camp of] al-Husayn (as). I said to myself: let me be at the front. The head of al-

Husayn might fall in my hands and by that I will gain status before ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. When we reached al-Husayn (as), a man from the [army of Ibn Sa‘d] called Ibn Hawzah came forward and said: “Is al-Husayn amidst you?”

Al-Husayn (as) kept silent. He said that for a second time, but al-Husayn did not reply. When he said it the third time, al-Husayn (as) said: “Tell him: yes, al-Husayn is here. What do you want?”

The man said: “O Husayn! Know that you are going to enter the hell [fire]!”

[Al-Husayn (as)] retorted: “You are lying. I am

۱- Abu Ja’far Husayn narrated to me saying’ :[Abu Mikhnaf says]“ :(۵:۴۳۰) Al-Tabari...”

advancing to a forgiving Lord and an intercessor who is listened to. Who are you?”

He replied: “Ibn Hawzah.”

Al-Husayn (as) then raised both his hands -such that we could see the whiteness of his armpits through his clothes- and prayed: “O Allah, take him away from us and throw him into the hell fire.”

Ibn Hawzah became angry and wanted to attack [al-Husayn (as)] with his horse. A brook ran between them. [As he was mounting his horse] his leg got stuck in the stirrups. The horse started moving and he [was upset by that] and fell to the ground. His foot, calf and thigh were severed and were left hanging on the stirrups.

Abd al-Jabbar bin Wa’il al-Hadhrami narrates: “Masruq left the cavalry behind him‘ and came back. So I asked him what had happened and he said: ‘Indeed, I have seen from the people of this House [i.e. of the Prophet (S)] something that I will never fight them!’(۱)

The Malediction of Burair and His Martyrdom

Yazid bin Ma'qil came forward from the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd and said: "Burair bin "!?Hudhair! Do you not see what Allah has done to you

"!He replied: "By Allah, He has done good to me and evil to you

Ibn Ma'qil] said: "You are lying. You were not a liar before this! Do you remember –] [one day] as I was walking with you in the area of Banu Laudhan– you were saying: "Uthman bin 'Affan was indeed extravagant, and that Mu'awiyah bin Abi Sufyan was a person who went astray (dhall) and misled

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Al-Tabari (۵:۴۲۱): "[I narrate] on the authority of 'Ata bin Saib from 'Abd al-Jabbar bin -۱ "...Wail al-Hadhrami, who was relating from his brother, Masruq bin Wail, that

"!?others (mudhill), and that the leader of the truth and guidance was 'Ali bin Abi Talib

"!Burair said to him: "I testify that this is my opinion and my statement

Yazid bin Ma'qil said: "I bear witness that you are among those who have gone ".astray

So Burair bin Hudhair said to him: "Are you ready for invoking a curse [upon the the one who is on the wrong among us]? Let us pray to Allah to curse the liar and that the one [who is] on the falsehood should be killed. [After that] come forward so that I can "!combat you

So both of them came forward and raised their hands towards Allah beseeching him to send down his curse on the liar [among the two] and that the one who is on the right .should kill the one who is on the wrong

Thereafter, each of them began attacking the other. They exchanged two blows, Yazid bin Ma'qil struck Burair bin Hudhair with a light blow of no avail. Burair gave him [in return] a blow that penetrated [his] helmet and reached the brain. [Yazid] fell down as if he fell from [high] above, while Burair's sword was still [stuck] in his head. [Ibn Abi

al-Akhnas says: "I still remember the event and] it is as if I am seeing [Burair] ".wrenching his sword off [Yazid's] head

Radhiyy bin Munqidh al-'Abdi [from the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd] attacked on [Burair] and grappled with him. They fought one another for sometime before Burair sat

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"!?on his chest. Radhiyy called out: "Where are the fighters and the defenders

At this] Ka'b bin Jabir al-Azdi attacked Burair with a spear and stabbed him in [his]] back. When [Burair] felt the penetration of the spear, he knelt on [the body of Radhiyy bin Munqidh al-'Abdi] and bit off his nose and severed part of it. Ka'b bin Jabir [again] stabbed him and took him off [al-'Abdi]. The spearhead had pierced deep into [Burair's] back. Ka'b then began striking him with his sword until he killed him. [May (Allah's mercy be upon him(۱)].(۲

Thereafter, 'Amru bin QaraZah al-Ansari came forward fighting in defense of al-:Husayn (as). He was saying

.The group of Ansar certainly knows, that I am going to defend [its] honour

With] the blow of a young man who does not turn away from the enemy; [I will] (sacrifice] my life and my household for al-Husayn.(۳

.[He was then killed. [May Allah have mercy on him

His brother, 'Ali [bin QaraZah] was with 'Umar bin Sa'd. He called out: "O Husayn! O liar ".son of the liar! You misled my brother, deceived him and then killed him

Al-Husayn (as)] replied: "Indeed Allah did not mislead your brother. Rather, he guided] "!your brother and misled you

Ibn QaraZah] said: "May Allah kill me if I do not kill you or die in the way of destroying] .[(you." [With that] he launched an attack on [the Imam (as

Nafi' bin Hilal al-Muradi obstructed him and stabbed him, throwing him [to the ['ground]. [Ibn QaraZah's] companions attacked [Nafi

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Al-Tabari (۵:۴۳۱): "Yusuf bin Yazid has narrated to me from 'Afif bin Zuhair bin Abi al- -۱ Akhnas -who had witnessed the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as)..." The remaining part .of the report follows in footnote no. ۲

When Ka'b bin Jabir al-Azdi returned [home after the event of Karbala'], his wife or -۲ his sister, called Nawwar bint Jabir, said to him: "You assisted [the people] against the son of Fatimah and killed the chief of the reciters [of the Qur'an]?! You have indeed "!commited a heinous deed! By Allah, I will never speak a word to you

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۳۳): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Abd al-Rahman bin Jundab narrated to me -۳ "...that

(and rescued him.(۱

The situation was such that] the people were moving here and there and fighting] each other. Hurr bin Yazid [al-Riyahi] was one of them. He attacked the [army of Ibn Sa'd] saying: "With my charger's neck and breast thrust forward I will launch myself at them again and again until [I am] clothed in blood."(۲) His horse was struck at its ears .and forehead and it was bleeding

Yazid bin Sufyan [al-Tamimi was saying]: "By Allah, if I happen to see Hurr bin Yazid coming out, I will throw a spear at him!" Husayn bin Tamim(۳) said to him: "Here is Hurr bin Yazid the one you wished [to see]!" He said: "Yes." He then went towards him and said: "O Hurr bin Yazid, are you ready for a single combat?" Hurr said: "Yes, I want it." Hurr then went out to meet him. It was as though [Yazid's] soul was in the hands [of (Hurr]. It did not take long before Hurr went out to him and killed him.(۴

Nafi' bin Hilal al-Muradi al-Jamali was [also] fighting [the enemy] saying: "I am the ".Jamali. I follow the religion of 'Ali

A man called Muzahim bin Huraith came forward against him and said: "I believe in the

"!religion of ‘Uthman

Nafi’ said to him: “You are on the religion of Shaitan.” [Saying this,] he attacked him .and killed him

So] ‘Amru bin al-Hajjaj [al-Zubaidiyy] shouted [at his men]: “O fools! Do you know who] are you fighting with?! [These] knights of the town

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"...Al-Tabari (۵:۴۳۴): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘I narrate from Thabit bin Hubairah -۱

.These are the words of ‘Antarah -۲

He was the head of the bodyguards of ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. He had sent him with -۳ ‘Umar bin Sa’d against al-Husayn (as) and put him in command of the armoured .soldiers

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۳۴): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘Abu Zuhair Nadhr bin Salih al-‘Abasi related -۴ "...to me that

are people who are seeking death. Do not let any of you go forward to fight them in single combat. They are only few and they are hardly going to remain [in this state]. By ".Allah, if you only threw stones at them, you would kill them

Umar bin Sa‘d said: “True, you have come to the right conclusion.” He then sent [the ‘ (message] to his army that: “None of you should fight any of them in single combat.”(۱

The Second Attack

point

Amru bin al-Hajjaj drew closer to al-Husayn’s companions while he was saying: “O‘ people of Kufah! Keep to your obedience and stay united. Do not doubt in killing one "![who has renounced the religion and has gone against the leader [i.e. Yazid

Al-Husayn (as) said to him: “‘Amru bin al-Hajjaj! Are you inciting the people against me?! We are the ones who have renounced [the religion], while you have remained firm on it?! By Allah, you will come to know -when your souls will be taken and you will

die on these actions- that who among us deviated from the religion and who deserves "![most to enter the hell [fire

Thereafter, 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj launched an attack against al-Husayn (as) from the right wing of 'Umar bin Sa'd's [army], from the direction of the Euphrates. The two armies clashed for some time [and a number of al-Husayn's companions] fell [to the .[ground

The Martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Awsajah

(The Martyrdom of Muslim bin 'Awsajah(٢

Abd al-Rahman al-Bajali and Muslim bin 'Abdillah al-Dabbabi [were the ones from the' companions of 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj who

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١ - Al-Tabari (٥:٤٣٥): "[Abu Mikhnaf reports:] 'Yahya bin Hani' bin 'Umar al-Muradi has "...related to me that

٢ - This report says: "Then Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asadi fell to the ground, being the first among al-Husayn's companions to be martyred," whereas Burair and Ibn Qara¨ah were martyred before this. Taking into consideration that the single combat were stopped [at a stage by the command of Ibn Sa'd] and instead the general attacks began, Ibn 'Awsajah was, accordingly, the first to be killed in the first attacks [after the single combat ceased]. Al-Tabari: [Ibn 'Awsajah] was receiving allegiance from the people for al-Husayn (as). It was through him that Ma'qil [the spy of Ibn Ziyad] could see Muslim bin 'Aqil (٥:٣۶٢). Muslim bin 'Aqil had made him in charge of the Madhhij and Asad [during his attempted rise in Kufah] (٥:٣۶٩). He is the one who stood up after the address of the Imam (as) on the night of 'Ashura' and said: "If we leave you alone, what excuse would we give to Allah for not fulfilling your rights [on us]? By Allah! [I will fight] till I break my spear in their chests. I will strike them with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand. I will not part with you. If I remain without any weapon to fight them, I will throw stones at them in your defence until I die along with you!" (٥:٤١٩). He was the one who asked for permission from al-Husayn (as) to shoot at

Shamir and said: "O son of the Messenger of Allah! May I be your ransom, should I not shoot him with an arrow? He is among the great tyrants." Al-Husayn (as) replied: "Do not shoot at him, for I indeed dislike beginning [the fight]" (۵:۴۲۴). It is not known how Ibn 'Awsajah joined al-Husayn (as) from Kufah, as history has mentioned nothing .about this

killed Ibn 'Awsajah]. The companions of 'Amru shouted: "We have killed Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asadi! [Hearing this,] 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj and his companions withdrew, leaving a cloud of dust. [When the dust settled] al-Husayn's companions found Muslim .stretched out dying

Al-Husayn (as) walked towards him and he was on the point of death. He said: "May your Lord have mercy on you, O Muslim bin 'Awsajah. 'Of them are some who have fulfilled their pledge, and of them are some who still wait, and they have not changed (in the least.'"(۱)

Habib bin MuZahir went closer to him and said: "O Muslim, your death is hard for me to ".bear. Receive the good news of Heaven

.May Allah bring you good news too", replied Muslim in a weak voice"

Habib said to him: "Had it not been that I would follow you at this very moment, I would like you to make your will to me regarding what concerns you, so that I may ".have carried it out as was deserving to you by virtue of [our] kinship and religion

Muslim] said as he pointed towards al-Husayn with his hand: "I enjoin you [not to] ".leave] this man, may Allah bless you, and to die for him

".[Habib] said: "By the Lord of Ka'bah, I will [do so]

It was not long before he died in their hands. [May Allah have mercy on him]. [At this,] (a slave girl of his screamed: "O Ibn 'Awsajah! O my master!"(۲

The Third Attack

point

Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan launched an attack with his left

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.Qur'an, ۳۳:۲۳ -۱

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۳۶): At this the companions of 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj chanted to one - ۲ another saying: 'We have killed Muslim bin 'Awsajah al-Asadi!' Shabath bin Rib'i al-Tamimi said to those around him among his colleagues: 'May your mothers mourn you! You are only killing yourselves with your own hands and humiliating yourselves for others' sake. You are happy that someone like Muslim bin 'Awsajah has been killed! I swear by the one to who I have submitted! How often I have seen him doing a noble deed amidst the Muslims! I have seen him on the highlands of Adharbaijan killing six idolaters even before the cavalry of the Muslims took its position. You are "!?rejoicing when such a man has been killed from among you

wing on the left wing [of al-Husayn's companions]. They stood firm against him and forced him and his companions away. Then Hani bin Thubait al-Hadhrami and Bukair bin Hayy al-Tamimi attacked ['Abdullah bin 'Umair] al-Kalbi and killed him. [May Allah (bless him].(۱

(The Attacks of the Companions of al-Husayn (as

The companions of al-Husayn (as) fought a severe battle. Their cavalry –which consisted of thirty-two horsemen(۲)- began to launch attacks. They did not attack any .side of the Kufan army without putting it to flight

When 'Azarah bin Qais [al-Tamimi], the commander of the Kufan cavalry, saw that his forces were dispersing from every side, he sent 'Abd al-Rahman bin Hidhn to tell 'Umar bin Sa'd: "Do you not see what my cavalry is receiving today from this small "!number [of men]! Send the foot soldiers and archers against them

Umar bin Sa'd said to Shabath bin Rib'i [al-Tamimi]: "Will you not go [to help them]?" ' He said: "Glory be to Allah! Do you approach the leader (shaikh) of the Mudhar and the people for leading the archers! Did you not find anyone else other than me who could

"!?get this task done for you

Umar bin Sa'd summoned Husayn bin Tamimi and dispatched him with [a group of]' the armour-clad soldiers and five hundred archers. They advanced and as they got closer to al-Husayn and his companions, they showered them with arrows and lamed (their horses. [Then] they [all turned to become] foot soldiers.(٣

The horse of Hurr bin Yazid a l-Riyahi was lamed]. It was not long before his horse]

It has appeared in this report that: "And he was the second martyr from among the -١ .companions of al-Husayn." But it is no more than a delusion

Perhaps this was the number of the remaining horsemen from [al-Husayn's] - ٢ companions. Otherwise, according to al-Mas'udi: "[Al-Husayn (as)] diverted [his way] to Karbala' with around ٥٠٠ horsemen from among his family members and companions, and with around ١٠٠ foot soldiers." He further says: "The total number of those killed alongside al-Husayn on the day of 'Ashura' in Karbala was ٨٧ men" (Muruj al-Dhahab:٣:٧٠٧١). Sayyid Ibn Tawus narrates in al-Malhuf (pg.٨٨) from Imam al-Baqir (as) that: "There were ٤٥ horsemen and ١٠٠ foot soldiers." The same has been reported by Sibt bin al-Jawzi in Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.٢٤٦٢٥١). But what is amazing [here] is that Ibn al-Jawzi quotes al-Mas'udi saying that their total number was ١٠٠٠ !men, whereas this is not found in Muruj al-Dhahab

Al-Tabari (٥:٤٣٥-٤٣٦): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Husayn bin 'Uqbah al-Muradi has related -٣ "...to me that al-Zubaidiyy said

trembeled and became upset and fell to the ground. So Hurr jumped from it as though :he was a lion. His sword was in his hands, while he was saying

Even if you lame my [horse], I am the son of free man [hurr], braver than a maned (lion.(١

The followers of al-Husayn (as)] continued to fight them fiercely until it was midday.] [The enemy] could not advance against them except from one side, due to their tents

being closer together. When ‘Umar bin Sa‘d saw this, he sent [his] men to strike [their] tents from the right and left sides, so that they might surround them. So three or four men from al-Husayn’s companions positioned themselves between the tents. They would attack [any] one who was striking [the tents], kill him, shoot at him and lame [his horse].

At this point ‘Umar bin Sa‘d ordered [his men] saying: “Set the tents on fire.”

Al-Husayn (as): “Leave them alone. Let them burn [the tents]. If they do so, they will not be able to cross over to you.” And it happened to be so. [Accordingly, the enemy] could not fight them except from one direction.

The Fourth Attack

Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan, among the others, launched an attack and struck the tents of al-Husayn (as) with his spear and shouted: “Bring me fire so that I may burn down this house on its inhabitants!” [At this,] the women started screaming and came out of the tents.

Al-Husayn (as) shouted at him: “O son of Dhi al-Jaushan! You are asking

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۱- The above verse says: “I am the son of Hurr”, while it has been said by Hurr himself. None of Abu Mikhnaf, al-Kalbi, Tabari, or others have mentioned [any other verse] as a completion to the above mentioned verse. Those who believe that the son of Hurr was also present in Karbala’, and that he had repented and then martyred alongside al-Husayn (as), are likely to have developed this opinion as a result of the above verse. However, it is also probable that ‘Hurr’ was the name of his grandfather, or one among his great grandfathers, or he might have intended from the word hurr its literal meaning [i.e. a free man]. The above verse has also been recorded by al-Mufid in al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۷), but he has not mentioned any other verse as a completion to the above one.

for fire to burn down my house on its dwellers?! May Allah burn you with the fire!”(۱)

Humaid bin Muslim [al-Azdi] says: "I said to Shamir: Glory be to Allah! This does not suit you. Do you want to bear upon yourself two things: to punish [the creatures] with the punishment of Allah and to kill the children and women! By Allah, by killing these men you can [only] please your governor."(۲)

Shabath bin Rib'i [al-Tamimi also] came to Shamir and said: "I have not seen a word worst than what you have said, nor a standing more wicked than that of yours. Have you [now] turned to become one who frightens the women?!"

Zuhair bin al-Qain attacked Shamir with ten of his colleagues. They fought Shamir and his followers fiercely. They drove them away from the tents until they moved away.

Thereafter, the [enemy] turned against the [followers of al-Husayn (as)] in large number. The number of the killed from al-Husayn's companions continued to grow. [Even] if one or two among their men were killed, it would be apparent [due to the fewness of their number], while it was not so apparent among the [enemy] because of their great number.

Preparation for the Noon (Zuhr) Prayers

When Abu Thumamah 'Amru bin 'Abdillah al-Saidi(۳) saw this, he said to al-Husayn (as): "O Aba 'Abdillah, my life be sacrificed for you! I see these people getting closer to you. By Allah, you will not be killed until I am killed defending you, if Allah wills. I wish to meet my Lord while

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۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۳۷): "Abu Mikhnaf says: 'Numair bin Wa'lah has narrated to me that Ayyub bin Mashrakh al-Khayawani used to say..."

۲- [Shamir] said: "Who are you?" But I was afraid that if he recognizes me, he would complain to the governer about me. So I replied: "I will not tell you who I am."

۳- Al-Tabari: Al-Saidi al-Hamdani. He was in Kufah collecting funds to help the followers of Muslim bin 'Aqil and purchase them weapons on the instructions of Muslim (۵:۳۶۴). Ibn 'Aqil had given him the banner over the Tamim and Hamdan the

day he rose (٥:٣۶٩). Abu Thumamah was the one who introduced the messenger of 'Umar bin Sa'd [i.e. 'Azarah bin al-Ahmasi] to the Imam (as) in Karbala' by saying: "O Aba 'Abdillah, the most vicious and the most daring in killing and the deadliest of the people on this earth has come to see you", and did not allow him to see the Imam (as) .(lest he should harm him (٥:۴١٠

".I have offered this prayer (salat) whose time has now entered

Al-Husayn (as) raised his head and said: "You have remembered the prayers. May Allah make you among those who establish prayers and remember [Him]. Yes, this is the beginning of its time." He then said: "Ask them to cease [fighting] so that we can ".pray

"!Husayn bin Tamim said to [al-Husayn's companions]: "They will not be accepted

So Habib bin MuZahir retorted: "Do you think that the prayers of the family of the Messenger of Allah (S) will not be accepted, but they will be accepted from you, O !?donkey

(The Martyrdom of the Companions Of Al-Husayn (as

The Martyrdom of Habib bin Muzahir

(The Martyrdom of Habib bin Muzahir(١

Incensed at Habib's comments,] Husayn bin Tamim [al-Tamimi] mounted an attack] against them. Habib bin MuZahir [al-Asadi] went out to meet him. He struck the face of his horse with [his] sword. The horse reared up and [Husayn] fell from it. His .companions carried him away and rescued him

:Habib then started saying

.I am Habib and my father is MuZahir, a furious cavalier [amidst] a burning battle

You are more prepared and greater in number [than us], [but] we are more loyal and .[patient [than you

We are the best proof and our being on the truth is more apparent, we are more pious than you and have better excuse [than you do].

He also used to say:

I swear had we been equal to you in number or half of you, you would have turned your backs to us in large numbers.

O most wicked of people in deeds and lineage!

[Habib]

p: ۲۲۶

۱- Al-Tabari: Habib was one of those who had written to the Imam (as) from among the Shiite leaders in Kufah (۵:۳۵۲). He answered Muslim bin 'Aqil's invitation for paying allegiance to the Imam (as) saying: "By Allah beside whom there is no other deity, I believe in what this man believes in, pointing towards 'Abis bin Abi Shabib al-Shakiri (۵:۳۵۵). [Habib] had said to Qurrah bin Qais al-Han¨ali al-Tamimi, 'Umar bin Sa'd's messenger to al-Husayn (as) in Karbala': "Woe onto you Qurrah bin Qais! How can you return to the unjust people? Help this man [i.e. al-Husayn], through whose ancestors Allah supported you and us with his grace (۵:۴۱۱). When Ibn Sa'd moved towards al-Husayn (as) in the evening of the ninth of Muharram and proceeded against him after the 'asr prayers, 'Abbas bin 'Ali (as) went to see him alongwith around twenty horsemen, among them being Habib bin Mu¨ahir. While 'Abbas had gone to the Imam (as) to inform him about the situation, some of the companions remained [with the enemy] admonishing them. Among them was Habib who said: "By Allah, the most wretched of the people before Allah tomorrow are a people who shall meet him while they are guilty of having killed the children, progeny and household of His Prophet (S), and the devout men of this city who strive [in worship] at dawn and who remember Allah much (۵:۴۱۶). The Imam (as) had given him the command of his left wing (۵:۴۲۲). When [Habib] went to the help of Muslim bin 'Awsajah, the latter advised him to help the Imam (as), to which he replied: "By the Lord of Ka'bah, I will do that" (۵:۴۳۶). Husayn bin Tamim boasted of killing [Habib] and hung his head on the chest of his

horse. His son, Qasim bin Habib, avenged his father's assasin, Budail bin Suraim al-.Tamimi, as they were in the army of Mus'ab bin al-Zubair during the battle of Bajmira

fought a fierce battle. A man from the Banu Tamim called Budail bin Suraim attacked him and stabbed him and he fell [to the ground]. As he tried to get up, Husayn bin Tamim [al-Tamimi] struck him on his head with the sword and he [again] fell [down]. (The man from the [Banu] Tamim then went to him and beheaded him.(١),(٢

Al-Husayn was broken by the the martyrdom of Habib bin Mu³ahir. He said: "I anticipate a reward from Allah for myself and [my] supporters from among my ".companions

The Martyrdom of Hurr bin Yazid al-Riyahi

:Thereafter, Hurr went out. He began reciting these verses

I am Hurr, [whose house] is renowned for its hospitality, I will strike in their midst with .my sword

In defence] of the best of those who have been in Mina and al-Khaif, [I will strike] .[them, and I do not see any wrong [in doing so

:He also said

I have sworn that I will not be killed until after I have killed, and I will not be struck .[today except while facing [them

I give them a cutting blow with [my] sword, neither will I desist from them nor will I get .frightened

Zuhair bin Qain [also] came out with him. They both fought a fierce battle. If one of them launched an attack and was surrounded [by the enemy], the other would [come to his help by] attacking them and free him. They continued [to combat] in this way for sometime until the foot soldiers [of the enemy] intensified [their attacks] on Hurr bin Yazid and he

۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۳۸-۴۳۹): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid has narrated to me from Humaid bin Muslim that...”

۲- [At this] Husayn said to Budail: “I have a share in killing him.” Budail retorted: “By Allah, no one other than me has killed him!” So Husayn said: “Give me [his head] and I will hang it on the chest of my horse, so that people may see that and come to know that I participated in killing him. You can take it after that and go to ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. I do not need the reward he is going to give you for killing him.” Budail did not accept this, but his colleagues mediated between the two to resolve the issue. Eventually, Budail gave him the head of Habib bin Mu¨ahir. So [Husayn] went round the army with the head, while he hung it on the neck of his horse. He later gave it to Budail. When they returned back to Kufah [after the event of Karbala’], Budail took the head of Habib and hung it on the chest of his horse and proceeded to the palace of Ibn Ziyad. Qasim bin Habib bin Mu¨ahir, who was then a young man, happened to see him [with his father’s head]. So he followed him closely. Budail became suspicious and said: “Why are you following me, O my son?” Qasim replied: “This head which is with you is the head of my father. Give it back to me so that I can bury it.” Budail said: “My son! The governor will not give consent that it should be buried. And I want the governer to reward me handsomely for killing him.” The young man thus told him: “But Allah is not going to reward you for that except the worst of the rewards. By Allah, you have killed one who was better than yourself”, and he began to weep. When Mus’ab bin al-Zubair invaded Bajmira, Qasim bin Habib had happened to join Mus’ab’s army. There he found his father’s assassin in one of the tents. He entered upon him at midday while he was resting. He struck him with the sword until he died (۵:۴۴۰).

was killed. [May Allah shower his mercy on him.]

The Noon (Zuhr) Prayers

Al-Husayn (as) then led them for the prayers of those in fear (salat al-khawf).(۱) [Sa’id bin ‘Abdullah al-Hanafi] stood in front of him. He thus became their target and [the enemy] began shooting arrows at him left and right. He continued to be shot at as he

remained standing in front of [al-Husayn (as)], until he fell to the ground. [May Allah have mercy on him].

The Martyrdom of Zuhair bin al-Qain

Then Zuhair bin Qain came forward]. He began tapping the shoulder of al-Husayn] (as) while he recited:

Be firm, you have been guided, the guide and the guided; today you will meet your grandfather, the Prophet.

And Hasan and 'Ali, the chosen one; and the one with the two wings [Ja'far], the brave martyr.

And the Lion of Allah [i.e. Hamzah], the living martyr.

He fought severely as he said:

I am Zuhair and I am the son of al-Qain, I will drive you away from the family of al-Husayn with my sword.(2)

Kathir bin 'Abdullah al-Sha'bi and Muhajir bin Aws attacked him and killed him. [May Allah have mercy on him].

The Martyrdom of Nafi' bin Hilal al-Jamali

Nafi' bin Hilal al-Jamali(3) had written his name on the head of his arrows. He began to shoot [the enemy] with the marked arrows saying: "I am Jamali, I follow the religion of 'Ali." He killed twelve [men] from among the followers of 'Umar bin Sa'd, apart from those who were injured.

Nafi' [was injured during the fight] and his arms were broken. Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan and his followers took him as

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1- It is also probable that he did not offer salat al-khawf, rather he shortened the

prayers (qasr). The offering of the prayers on the noon of ‘Ashura’ has been related .(also in al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۸) and al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۲ ۲۵۶

.(See also Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۵۳; Najaf edition -۲

Al-Tabari: He was the one who sent his horse with Tirimmah bin ‘Adiyy to the Imam -۳ (as) when he was on his way to Kufah (۵:۴۰۵). When thirst became unbearable on the Imam (as) and his companions, he called upon his brother, ‘Abbas bin ‘Ali (as), and sent him with thirty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers [to bring water]. Nafi’ bin Hilal was moving ahead of them and was welcomed by ‘Amru bin al-Hajjaj [from the enemy’s army]. ‘Amru said to him: “Drink and enjoy”, and he replied: “Nay by Allah, I will not drink a drop from it while al-Husayn is thirsty” (۵:۴۱۲). When ‘Ali bin Qara¨ah, the brother of ‘Amru bin Qara¨ah al-Ansari, attacked al-Husayn (as), Nafi’ bin Hilal al-.(Muradi obstructed him, stabbed him and grappled with him (۵:۴۳۴

.a captive and carried him to ‘Umar bin Sa‘d as blood flowed down his beard

Umar bin Sa‘d said to him: “Woe onto you O Nafi! What led you to do [all] this with‘ ”?yourself

Nafi’ replied: “My Lord knows what I intended. By Allah, I have killed twelve among your [men] apart from those I wounded. I do not blame myself for the trouble [I am ”!in]. Had I been left with only an arm, you would not have taken me as a captive

”!Shamir said to [Ibn Sa‘d]: “Kill him, may Allah guide you

”.He replied: “You can kill him, if you wish

Shamir unsheathed his sword. So Nafi’ said to him: “By Allah, were you a Muslim, it would have been distressing for you to meet Allah with our blood [on your hands]! All praise is due to Allah who put our death in the hands of the wicked among his ”.creatures

.[Shamir then killed him. [May Allah have mercy on him

The Martyrdom of the Two Brothers from Ghifar

When the companions of al-Husayn (as) realized that they were unable to defend al-Husayn and theirselves [from the enemy], they began vying [with each other] to be .killed in his presence

Abdullah and 'Abd al-Rahman, the [two] sons of 'Azarah al-Ghifari came to him and' said: "O Aba 'Abdillah! Peace be on you. The enemy is gaining control over us. We ".would like to be killed before you, defending and protecting you

Al-Husayn (as)] said: "You are [all] welcomed. Get closer to me." So they came closer] to him. Thereafter, they started fighting while

:one of them was reciting

.Banu Ghifar have well known, and so has Khindaf and Banu Nizar

That] we shall strike the community of the wicked [people], with the sharp and cutting] .sword

.O people defend the sons of the free men, with strong swords and dangerous lances

Then they fought before him a furious battle until they were killed. [May Allah have] .[mercy on them

The Martyrdom of the Two Young Men from Jabir

Thereafter, the two young men from the Banu Jabir, Saif bin al-Harith bin Suray' and Malik bin 'Abd bin Suray' –who were cousins from their father's side and also half .brothers, came to al-Husayn (as) and got closer to him weeping

Al-Husayn (as)] said: "O sons of my brother, what makes you weep? For I hope, by] ".Allah, that you are soon going to be delighted

They replied: "May Allah make us you ransom! Nay by Allah, we are not weeping on ourselves, rather we are crying for you. We see that you have been encircled [with the ".enemy] while we are not able to defend you

He said: "O sons of my brother, may Allah reward you for your grief at that and for helping me with your persons, with the best of the reward of the pious ones."

Then, the two young men began advancing [towards the battlefield], while they kept looking back over their shoulders at al-Husayn (as) and saying: "Peace be upon you, O son of the Prophet of Allah!" [Al-Husayn (as)] replied: "Peace and mercy of Allah be upon you."

They fought until they were killed. [May Allah have

p: ٢٣٠

mercy on them].

The Martyrdom of HanZalah bin As`ad al-Shabami

HanZalah bin As'ad al-Shabami came forward and stood in front of al-Husayn (as) and began addressing [the army of Ibn Sa'd]:

"O my people! Indeed I fear for you a day like the day of the [heathen] factions; like the case of the people of Nuh, of 'Ad and Thamud, and those who were after them, and Allah does not desire any wrong for [His] servants. O my people! Indeed I fear for you a day of mutual distress calls, a day when you will turn back [to flee], not having anyone to protect you from Allah, and whomever Allah leads astray has no guide."(١) O people, do not kill al-Husayn, lest Allah should annihilate you with [his] punishment. 'Whoever fabricates lies certainly fails'."(٢)

Al-Husayn (as) said to him: "O son of As'ad! May Allah have mercy on you! These people have [already] been entitled to the punishment [from Allah] when they rejected your call to the truth and rose to destroy you and your colleagues. Let alone now that they have already killed your righteous brothers."

He said: "You have said the truth, may I be your ransom! You are more learned than me and you are worthier for that [too]. Are we not going to proceed to the hereafter (akhirah) and join our brothers [i.e. has not the time come for us to join them]?"

Al-Husayn (as)] replied: "Advance to [the abode] which is better than this world and all] ".it contains. [Depart] to the kingdom which never perishes

HanZalah] then]

p: ۲۳۱

.Qur'an, ۴۰:۳۰-۳۳ -۱

.Qur'an, ۲۰:۶۱ -۲

said: "Peace be on you, O Aba 'Abdillah. May Allah bless you and your family. May Allah ".introduce us to each other in his Heaven

".Al-Husayn (as)] said: "Amin, amin]

HanZalah al-Shabami] then went out and fought until he was killed. [May Allah have] .[mercy on him

The Martyrdom of 'Abis bin Abi Shabib and His Retainer

(The Martyrdom of 'Abis bin Abi Shabib and His Retainer(۱

Abis bin Abi Shabib al-Shakiri came forward together with his Shaudhab, his retainer,' "?and asked him: "O Shaudhab, what are you intending to do

Shaudhab] replied: "What should I do? I will fight along with you in defence of the son] ".of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (S) until I am killed

Abis] said: "That is what [I] expected of you. If you are not going to leave [him], then'] go forward and fight before Abi 'Abdillah, so that he may anticipate a reward from Allah in the hereafter because of your [martyrdom] as he did with regard to his other companions. I also will [have the opportunity to] do the same; for if I had anyone, at this moment, on whom I had a greater claim than I have on you, I would have been happy if he would go to fight before me, so that I may anticipate [from Allah] a reward for that. This is the day in which we should seek the reward [of Allah] through whatever means possible. Indeed there is no [room for performing] deeds after

".(today, all that remains is the reckoning (hisab

.(Shaudhab then came forward and greeted al-Husayn (as

p: ۲۳۲

Al-Tabari: When Muslim bin 'Aqil read the letter of the Imam (as) to the people of -۱ Kufah, 'Abis stood up and said, after praising Allah and extolling him: "Indeed I am not informing you about the people, nor do I know what is there in their hearts. I am not trying to deceive you of their condition either. By Allah! I am going to tell you about what I have prepared myself for. By Allah! I will answer you when you call. I will certainly be with you to fight your enemies. I will be striking [the enemy] with my sword in defence of you until I meet Allah. I want nothing from that except that which lies with Allah." So Habib bin Mu¨ahir said to him: "May Allah have mercy on you. You have said what was in your heart by your brief talk" (۵:۳۵۵). When Muslim bin 'Aqil moved to the house of Hani bin 'Urwah and ۱۸,۰۰۰ men paid allegiance to him, he sent 'Abis bin Abi Shabib al-Shakiri with a letter to al-Husayn (as) telling him: "Come quickly .([to Kufah]" (۵:۳۷۵

He sought his permission and] thereafter went [to the battlefield]. He fought until he] .[was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him

Abis bin Abi Shabib then said: "O Aba 'Abdillah! By Allah, there is no one on the face of' this earth, from among [my] kin or distant ones, who is more beloved and dearer to me than you are. If I was able to ward off oppression and death from you with something dearer to me than my life and blood, I would have done so. Peace be upon you, O Aba 'Abdillah. I take Allah as a witness that I am on your path and the path of ".your father

He then walked towards [the enemy] with the sword drawn. It was with it that he was (struck on his forehead.(۱

Rabi' bin Tamim [al-Hamdani] says: "When I saw him coming, I recognized him. So I said: 'O people! This is the black lion. This is Ibn Abi Shabib. No one among you should

'!come out to face him

'!?Abis] began calling out: 'Is not there anyone to fight me man to man']

'!Umar bin Sa'd cried out: 'Bring him to his knees by stoning him'

So he was pelted from all sides. When 'Abis saw this, he threw aside his armour and ".helmet and attacked the people furiously

Rabi' says:] "I swear by Allah, I saw him driving back more than two hundred [men]] from the [enemy]! Thereafter, they surrounded him from all sides and he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on

p: ۲۳۳

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۴): "Numair bin Wa'lah related to me from a man from the Banu 'Abd -۱ "...of Hamdan, who happened to witness that day

(him]."(۱),(۲

The Martyrdom of Yazid ibn Ziyad, Abu Sha'tha' al- Kindi

Yazid bin Ziyad bin Muhasir, Abu Sha'tha' al-Kindi, was among those who had come out with 'Umar bin Sa'd against al-Husayn (as). When [the people] rejected the conditions [and the offer] of al-Husayn (as), he got inclined to him [and then joined him]. He fought alongside al-Husayn (as) while he recited [the following verses] on :that day

.I am Yazid and my father is Muhasir, braver than a lion who is asleep in the thicket

O Lord I am a helper to al-Husayn, I have abandoned Ibn Sa'd and parted [from (him].(۳

Yazid] was an archer. He knelt down before al-Husayn (as) and shot a hundred] arrows [towards the enemy]. Only five of those [who were struck with the arrows] fell to the ground. Whenever he shot [an arrow], he would say: "I am the son of Bahdalah,

the knight of [the day of] 'Arjalah", while al-Husayn (as) would pray: "O Allah, direct his ".shooting and make Heaven his reward

.[He then fought until he was killed. [May Allah have mercy on him

The Martyrdom of the Four Men

Then the four men who had come with Tirimmah bin 'Adiyy to al-Husayn (as):] Jabir] bin Harith al- Salmani, Mujammi' bin 'Abdillah al-'A'idhi(۴), 'Umar bin Khalid al-Saidawi and Sa'd, the retainer of 'Umar bin Khalid, went out attacking the people with their swords. After they penetrated [the army], the people surrounded them, having the .upper hand over them and cutting them off from their companions

So 'Abbas bin 'Ali attacked [the enemy] and saved them. Then they [again] launched an attack and fought

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Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۰): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Muhammad bin Qais narrated to me saying -۱ "...that

Rabi' says:] "I saw his head in the hands of a number of men, each of whom] -۲ claimed to have killed him. So they came to 'Umar bin Sa'd [to settle the matter] and he said: 'Do not quarrel. This man has not been killed by a single spear [head]!' This is ".how he settled the issue between them

This narration is from Fudhail bin Khudaij al-Kindi. [This report of Fudhail indicates -۳ that Abu al-Sha'tha' was with 'Umar bin Sa'd before he left him to join the Imam (as)]. It is probable that it was from the above verses that Fudhail concluded that Abu al-Sha'tha' abandoned Ibn Sa'd and came to the help of the Imam (as) after the former rejected the Imam's proposal. [In contrary, the earlier report from 'Abd al-Rahman bin Jundab contradicts the report of Fudhail]. The report is as follows: 'Abd al-Rahman bin Jundab relates from 'Uqbah bin Sim'an that: "The messenger of Ibn Ziyad who brought his letter to Hurr al-Riyahi in Karbala' was Malik bin al-Nusair al-Baddi al-Kindi. So Abu al-Sha'tha' said to him: 'May your mother be deprived of you! What kind of mission have you embarked upon? Malik replied: "I have not done so! I have [only]

obeyed my leader and fulfilled my allegiance to him." Abu al-Sha'tha' said: "You have disobeyed your Lord and have obeyed your leader to your own destruction. You have earned [but] shame and hell fire! Allah, the Almighty, the Majestic, says: 'And We made them leaders who invite [people] to the fire, and on the day of judgment they shall not receive any help.' [Such] is your leader!" (al-Tabari:۵:۴۰۸). Now this report implies that Abu al-Sha'tha' was with the Imam (as) before his arrival in Karbala', rather even before he met Hurr al-Riyahi. And this point has remained unnoticed by both, Abu .Mikhnaf and Tabari

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۰۵): He is the one who informed al-Husayn (as) at 'Udhaib al-Hijanat - ۴ about the situation in Kufah saying: "As for the noblemen, they have been heavily bribed and their pockets filled. Their hearts have been won and their loyalty secured for them. [Now] they are all united against you! With regard to the rest of the people, their hearts are inclined towards you, but tomorrow their swords shall be drawn "!against you

.[until they were [all] killed at the same point.[١] [May Allah have mercy on them

The Martyrdom of Suwaid al-Khath'ami and Bashir al-Hadhrami

The last to remain with al-Husayn (as) from among his companions were Suwaid bin 'Amru bin Abi Muta' al-Khath'ami[٢] and Bashir bin 'Amru al-Hadhrami. [With regard to .[Bashir, he went out and fought until he was killed]. [May Allah have mercy on him

As for Suwaid, he [also] went out and fought till he was exhausted and collapsed [unconscious].[٣] He fell amidst the bodies of those killed [in the battle] and his sword .was snatched away

When al-Husayn (as) was killed and he heard them saying: 'Al-Husayn has been killed!', he regained consciousness. He had a knife with him, so he [got up and] fought them with his knife for a while until Zayd bin Ruqad al-Janabi[۴] and 'Urwah bin Battar .al-Taghlabi killed him

)He was the last person [from among al-Husayn's companions] to be killed.[۵],[۶]

(The Martyrdom Of The Family Members Of Al-Husayn (as

(The Martyrdom of 'Ali bin al-Husayn al-Akbar (as

Ali al-Akbar bin al-Husayn bin 'Ali (as)(٧) was the first to be killed on that day from the' Banu Abi Talib. His mother was Laila, daughter of Abu Murrah bin Mas'ud al-Thaqafi.(٨) He began attacking the people while he recited the following:

I am 'Ali, son of Husayn bin 'Ali; by the Lord of the House, we are closest to the Prophet.

By Allah! A man born of fornication [i.e. Ibn Ziyad] shall not judge us.(٩)

He did that several times. Then Murrah bin Munqidh bin al-Nu'man al-'Abdi(١٠) saw him. He said: "May the felonies of the Arabs come on me, if he gets past

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١- Al-Tabari (٥:٤٤٥): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Fudhail bin Khudaij al-Kindi has related to me that..."

٢- Al-Tabari (٥:٤٤٦): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Zuhair bin 'Abd al-Rahman bin Zuhair al-Khath'ami narrated to me that..."

٣- Al-Tabari (٥:٤٤٤): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Abdullah bin 'Asim has related to me from Dahhak bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriqi that..."

٤- Al-Tabari: He is the assassin of 'Abbas bin 'Ali (as) (٥:٤٦٨). He shot 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aqil with an arrow. Regarding this he used to say: "I shot a young man from among them with an arrow [on his forehead]. He tried to protect himself by putting his hand on his forehead, but I fixed his hand to his forehead such that he was unable to take it off from it!" He then shot another arrow at the young man and killed him. On that he used to say: "He was dead when I got to him. I had to wrench the arrow off his forehead. I managed to take it off but its arrowhead was stuck on his forehead such that I was unable to take it out." Mukhtar had dispatched 'Abdullah bin Kamil al-Shakiri to pursue him. The latter came to his house and surrounded it. His men forced their way [into the house] and al-Janabi came out with his sword drawn. Ibn Kamil said: "Shower him with arrows and stone him." They did so until he fell to the ground. Ibn Kamil then ordered for fire and burnt him while he was still alive (٦:٦٤). Al-

Janab was from the Banu Janab (۶:۶۴). In other books of history apart from al-Tabari, he is referred to as al-Juhani or al-Hanafi.

۵- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۳): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘Zuhair bin ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Khath’ami has related to me that...”

۶- Al-Tabari: “Abu Mikhnaf says: “‘Abdullah bin ‘Asim related to me from Dahhak bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqi who said: ‘When I saw that [all] the companions of al-Husayn (as) had been killed and that they had displayed their loyalty to him and his household, and that there remained no one with him except Suwaid bin ‘Amru bin Abi al-Muta’ al-Khath’ami and Bishr bin ‘Amru al-Hadhrami, I moved to [take] my horse -whom I had kept in one of the tents of our companions when I saw their horses being lamed [by the enemy]. Then I came out to fight on foot. I managed to kill two men in the presence of al-Husayn (as) and cut off the hand of another. Al-Husayn (as) was repeatedly telling me at that time: ‘May you not be crippled. May Allah not sever your hand. May Allah reward you the best on behalf of the household of your Prophet (S)!’ So I said to him: ‘O son of the Messenger of Allah! Do you remember what was agreed between us, I had told you that I will fight defending you so long as there are others fighting [alongside me]. But if I do not see any other fighter [apart from myself], then I am free to go [and leave you]. And you had accepted this from me. So al-Husayn (as) said: ‘That is true, but how are you going to escape?! If you are able to do so, then you are free to go.” [Dahhak says:] “When he granted me the permission, I brought out my horse from the tent and mounted it. I sat firmly on it and whipped it. When it reared up, I charged with it against the people and they opened up [the way] for me. Fifteen men from the [army] began to chase me until I reached Shufayyah, a village near the bank of the Euphrates. When they caught me there, I aroused their sympathy for me. [Here] Kathir bin ‘Abdullah al-Sha’bi, Ayyub bin Mushrih al-Khayawani and Qais bin ‘Abdullah al-Saidawi recognized me and said: ‘This is Dahhak bin ‘Abdullah al-Mushriqi. He is our cousin. We beseech you for the sake of Allah to leave him!’ Three men from the Banu Tamim who were with them said: ‘By Allah, we will indeed respond to our brothers who call on us to free their companion.” [Dahhak says:] “When the men from the Tamim agreed with [the request of my] clansmen, the rest [of them] held back. Thus, Allah saved me” (۵:۴۴۵).

۷- Al-Tabari: In his narration on the authority of Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid from Humaid

bin Ziyad, Abu Mikhnaf describes Imam al-Sajjad (as) as 'Ali bin al-Husayn al-Asghar [i.e. the younger 'Ali] (۵:۴۵۴). He names the other child of the Imam (as) who was killed in his lap as 'Abdullah bin al-Husayn, through the same chain of narration (۵:۴۴۸). In his book Dhayl al-Mudhayyal (pg.۶۳۰; Dar al-Ma'arif publications), Tabari says: "As for 'Ali bin al-Husayn al-Akbar [the older], he was killed along with his father by the river [Euphrates] in Karbala'. He did not have any offspring. 'Ali bin al-Husayn al-Asghar was present at Karbala with his father and he was ۲۳ years of age. He was ill, confined to the bed. 'Ali [al-Asghar] says: 'When I was taken before Ibn Ziyad, he asked me: 'What is your name?' I replied: "Ali bin al-Husayn'. He said: 'Has not Allah killed 'Ali?' I said: 'I had a brother called 'Ali al-Akbar who was older than me and was killed by the people.' He said: 'Nay, Allah killed him.' I said: 'Allah takes the souls at the time their death." [Qur'an, ۳۹:۴۲]. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani has related the above incident in al-Maqatil (pg.۸۰; Najaf edition) also. Al-Ya'qubi (۲:۲۳۳; Najaf edition) also refers to 'Ali bin al-Husayn as al-akbar and to Imam al-Sajjad (as) as al-asghar. And so has been done by al-Mas'udi in Muruj al-Dhahab (۳:۷۱) and by Ibn al-Jawzi in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۲۵). Al-Mufid mentions 'Ali bin al-Husayn in al-Irshad (pg.۲۳۸) but without referring to him as .al-akbar

۸- Al-Tabari: In the ۶th year of Hijrah 'Urwah bin Mas'ud fled from the Banu Thaqif in Taif and went to Makkah. There he came in alliance with the Quraish, together with his family and his followers. When the Messenger of Allah (S) visited Makkah in the year of Hudaibiyyah with his companions for the 'umrah and Budail bin Warqa' al-Khuza'i informed them of what the Prophet [s] said [regarding the peace treaty], 'Urwah stood up and said to the wise men of the Quraish: "This man has proposed a sensible thing to you. Accept it and allow me to go to see him." They said: "You can go." Thus, ['Urwah] went to see the Prophet (S) and talked to him. The Prophet [s] told him the like of what he had told Budail, that is: "We have not come to fight anyone. We have only come to perform the 'umrah. The Quraish have been worn out by war and they have been harmed by it. [Accordingly,] if they wish to accept what [other] people have accepted [i.e. make a peace treaty with us], they should do so. [Otherwise, they should know that the Muslims] have [today] grown in number. [But] if they reject [our proposal], then I swear by the one in whose hand is my soul, I will fight them on this issue [i.e. Islam] until I am killed or Allah enforces his affair." Here 'Urwah said: "O

Muhammad! Tell me, if you are thinking of destroying your people, then have you [ever] heard of any Arab before you who has annihilated his community! I swear that I see different faces and people surrounding you, who will flee and leave you alone if such a thing is going to happen!" With that, he began looking at the companions of the Prophet (S). He then returned to his people and said: "O people! I have, indeed, visited [different] kings. I have visited Choesroe, Caesar and Negus! But I swear that I have never seen any king esteemed by his followers more than Muhammad. I swear that he does not spit but it falls on the hands of one of them, who would then rub it on his face and skin. When he commands them, they vie with each other to carry out his order. When he performs ablution, they almost fight to obtain the water [he uses]. When they speak in his presence, they lower their voices. They never stare at him out of their respect for him! Such a man has proposed to you a sensible proposal, [you had better] accept." (۲:۶۲۷) 'Urwah was in Jordan during the battle of Hunain in the year ۸ H, learning the skills of making weaponry and catapults and therefore could not participate in it (۳:۶۲۸). 'Urwah was related to Abu Sufyan as he had married his daughter, Aminah. Abu Sufyan and Mughirah bin Shu'bah went to Taif on the day of Hunain and there they called out the Banu Thaqif: "Grant us protection so that we may speak to you!" So they granted them protection. The two men then invited the women from Quraish [who were in Taif to come with them to Makkah], fearing that they might be taken as prisoners. But they rejected their invitation (۳:۸۴). When the Prophet of Allah (S) left Taif, 'Urwah bin Mas'ud followed him and met him before the Prophet [s] reached Madinah. He embraced Islam and asked the Prophet [s] to allow him to return to his people with the message of Islam. Since 'Urwah was a beloved personality among the Thaqif and obeyed by them, he began inviting them to Islam, hoping that they would not oppose him because of the position he held between them. But they showered him with arrows from all sides and he was killed. He was asked before he was killed: "How do you find dying?" He replied: "It is an honour bestowed on me by Allah, and a martyrdom driven by Allah towards me. My position is the same as of those martyrs who were killed alongside the Messenger of Allah (S) before he left your [city]. So bury me with them." And they did so. It is reported in Sirah Ibn Hisham (۳:۹۷) that the Prophet of Allah [s] said concerning him: "His example in his community is that of the believer [mentioned] in Surat Yasin" (۲:۳۲۵). The Messenger of Allah [s]

repaid his debts and those of his brother, Aswad bin Mas'ud, from the jewellery of al-Lat, the idol [worshipped by] the Thaqif (۳:۱۰۰).

۹- Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani narrates in al-Maqatil (pg.۷۷) that: "['Ali al-Akbar] would attack [the enemy] and then return to his father saying: 'O father, thirst [is overcoming me]!' and al-Husayn (as) would say to him: 'Have patience, O love of my heart; for the Messenger of Allah [s] is going to give you a drink with his chalice by this evening.' [According to Ibn al-Jawzi, 'Ali (as)] did this for several times."

۱۰- Al-Tabari: His lineage goes back to the Banu 'Abd al-Qais. He was with his father Munqidh bin Nu'man at Siffin along side ['Ali], the Commander of the Faithful (as). There Murrah took from his father the standard of the 'Abd al-Qais and it remained with him (۴:۵۲۲). In the year ۶۶ H, Mukhtar sent 'Abdullah bin Kamil al-Shakiri against him. He surrounded his house and so [Murrah] forced his way out on a fine horse, with a spear in his hand. Ibn Kamil struck him with [his] sword but he guarded against it with his left hand and escaped. He then [went and] joined Mus'ab bin al-Zubair, while his hand was paralysed (۶:۶۴).

me doing the same as he has been doing [and] I do not deprive his mother of him."

['Ali bin al-Husayn (as)] continued to attack the people with his sword. Murrah bin Munqidh came against him and stabbed him. He was struck down and the people fell upon him, cutting him with their swords. (۱),(۲)

Al-Husayn (as) came to [his body] saying: "May Allah kill [the] people who killed you, my son! How foolhardy they are against the Merciful and in violating the sacredness of the family of the Prophet! There will [only] be dust on the world after you."

A woman came hurrying out, crying: "O my brother! O my nephew! She came up and threw herself on [his body]. Al-Husayn (as) came near to her, held her by her hand and led her back to the tent. He the turned towards his young men and said: "Carry your brother [back]." They carried him from the place he was killed and put him before the tent which they had been fighting in front of.(۳)

The Martyrdom of Qasim bin al-Hasan (as)

Humaid bin Muslim says: “A young lad came out against us, his face was like the first splinter of the new moon and he carried a sword. He was wearing a shirt and a waistcloth (izar), and a pair of sandals, one of whose straps was broken, and I will not .[forget that it was the [strap of the] left [foot

’.Amru bin Sa‘d bin Nufail al-Azdi(۴) said to me: ‘By Allah, I am going to attack him‘

I said to

p: ۲۳۶

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۶): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘Zuhair bin ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Zuhair al- - ۱ Khath’ami narrated to me that...” Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani has related the incident in al-Maqatil (pg.۷۶) from Abu Mikhnaf, who narrated it from Zuhair bin ‘Abdillah al-Khath’ami. According to another chain of narration: “When ‘Ali bin al-Husayn (as) came out to the people, al-Husayn (as) lowered his eyes and wept. He said: ‘O Allah, be witness against these people, for [now] a youth has gone out to them who ”.resembles the Messenger of Allah (S) most among all the creatures

Abu al-Faraj says is al-Maqatil (pg.۷۷): “[‘Ali al-Akbar] then called out: ‘O father! - ۲ Peace be upon you. Here is my grandfather, the Messenger of Allah, sending you salutations and saying: come to us quickly.’ Then he sighed deeply and [his soul] ”.departed

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۶): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid related to me from - ۳ Humaid bin Muslim al-Azdi that...” See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۷۶۷۷) through the .same chain of narration

His name appears in al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۸) as Sa’d bin ‘Amru bin Nufail al-Azdi. Both the - ۴ .names have appeared in the report of Abu Mikhnaf

him: ‘Glory be to Allah! What do you want to do that for? These people whom you see ’![surrounding him are enough [to kill him

Amru] insisted: ‘By Allah, I will attack him.’ So he rushed against him and did not turn‘] back until he had struck his head with his sword. The lad fell face downwards and ’!called out: ‘O uncle

At this,] al-Husayn (as) showed himself just like the hawk shows itself. He launched] into attack like a raging lion and struck 'Amru with [his] sword. 'Amru tried to fend off the blow with his arm but his arm was cut off from the elbow. The cavalry [of the .enemy] made a move [in order to save him] but they [only] trampled him to death

As] the cloud of dust settled, al-Husayn (as) was seen standing by the head of the] young lad. He was rubbing his heels on the ground while al-Husayn (as) was saying: 'Away with the people who have killed you, a people against whom your grandfather will complain on the Day of Judgement on your behalf. By Allah, it is hard on your uncle that you called him but he could not answer you, or he answered but could not help you. By Allah, it was a cry whose avengers were many, but whose helpers [at the (moment] are few!'(١

Then he carried him [in his arms]. It is just as if I am looking at the two legs of the body making marks [as they trail] on

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This statement of the Imam (as) means that the cry of Qasim has many helpers - ١ .amidst the Banu Hashim, though they could not be present at Karbala' to help him

the ground, while al-Husayn (as) had put the chest [of the lad] on his chest. He took him and put him with his son 'Ali bin al-Husayn around whom were [other] bodies of ".those slain from among his household

Humaid continues with his report and says:] "I asked about the boy and was told that] (he was al-Qasim bin al-Hasan bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib (as)."(١

The Martyrdom of 'Abbas bin 'Ali (as) and His Brothers

Abbas bin 'Ali (as) then said to his brothers on his mother's side -'Abdullah, Ja'far and' 'Uthman: "O sons of my mother! Go forward [and fight] so that I may mourn over you; ![for you have no children [to grieve over you

They did so [and went out and fought a severe battle until] they were killed. [May Allah

(have mercy on them].(2),(3)

(The Martyrdom of the Infant of al-Husayn (as)

Al-Husayn [(as) then] sat down and his baby was brought to him. [He was an infant or [a little] older than that] called 'Abdullah bin al-Husayn(4)

and he seated him on his lap.(5) [The baby] was in his lap as one of the Banu Asad [either Harmalah bin Kahil or Hani' bin Thubait al-Hadhrami] shot an arrow which slaughtered him. Al-Husayn (as) caught [the child's] blood [in the palm of his hand]. When his palm was full, he poured it on to the ground and said: "O Lord, if it be so that You have kept the help of Heaven from us, then let it be for something better [according to Your wisdom]. Take vengeance on these oppressors on our behalf."(6),(7)

The Martyrdom of the Two Sons of 'Abdullah bin Ja'far

The people encircled them from all

1- Al-Tabari (5:447): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid related to me from Humaid bin Muslim who said..." See also al-Irshad (pg.239).

2- Al-Tabari (5:448): "Abu Mikhnaf says..."

3- The Martyrdom of 'Abbas bin 'Ali (as) does not appear in al-Tabari. Hence, we mention it from al-Irshad of Shaikh al-Mufid (pg.240; Najaf edition). He says: "The thirst of al-Husayn (as) became severe. He set off towards the dam, trying to reach the Euphrates. In front of him was his brother, al-'Abbas. However, the cavalry of Ibn Sa'd, may Allah curse him, blocked his way. Among these was a man from the Banu Darim, he said [to the cavalry]: 'Woe upon you! Prevent him from reaching the Euphrates, do not let him get water!' Al-Husayn (as) said: 'O Allah, make him thirsty!' So the man from Darim became angry and shot an arrow at him which lodged in his throat. Al-Husayn (as) pulled out the arrow and held his hand below his throat. He put his hands under his throat, and both his palms were filled with blood which he shook

away and said: 'O Allah, I complain to you about what is being done to the son of the daughter of your Prophet!' He then returned to his position, while his thirst had become [even more] severe. [Meanwhile,] the people [had] surrounded al-'Abbas and cut him off from [al-Husayn (as)]. Single-handed he began to attack them until he was killed, may Allah have mercy on him. The [two] who took part in killing him -after he had been covered with wounds and could not move- were Zayd bin Warqa'al-Hanafi* and Hakim bin al-Tufail al-Sinbisiyy. *Al-Tabari refers to him as Zayd bin Ruqad al-Janabi (۵:۴۶۸). In the same book (۶:۶۴), he says: "He was a man from Janab. He is the one who killed 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aqil and Suwaid bin 'Amru al-Khath'ami, who were among the companions of al-Husayn (as). His biography has been given earlier under the reports of the martyrdom of Suwaid. 'Al-Hanafi' is obviously a phonetic .distortion (tahrif) of the word

۴- Al-Tabari: His mother was Rabab, daughter of Imru' al-Qais al-Kalbi (۵:۴۶۸). Al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۰) has also related this incident and says that ['Abdullah] was a [small] .(child (tifl

۵- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۸): [Abu Mikhnaf reports that:] 'Uqbah bin Bashir al-Asadi said: 'Abu "...Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Ali bin al-Husayn told me that

۶- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۸): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid narrated to me from "...Humaid bin Muslim who said

۷- Al-Tabari relates on the authority of 'Ammar al-Duhani from Imam al-Baqir (as) who said: "And an arrow came and struck his son who was in his lap. [Al-Husayn (as)] began wiping the blood from him and saying: 'O Allah, You judge between us and a people who invited us in order to help us, and now they are killing us" (۵:۳۸۹). Al-Ya'qubi writes in his Tarikh (۲:۲۳۲; Najaf edition): "Then [the companions of al-Husayn (as)] came forward one after another. [They fought and were all killed] until he remained alone. There was no one with him from among his family, children or his kinsmen. He was on his horse when a new-born baby, who had just born, was brought to him. He recited the adhan in his ear and gave him a bit of chewed dates. Just then an arrow came and struck the throat of the child and slaughtered it. Al-Husayn (as) removed the arrow from [the child's] throat and began to spread the blood on the [child's body] saying: 'By Allah, you are more honourable in the eyes of Allah than the she-camel [of Prophet Salih]. And indeed Muhammad is more honourble

before Allah than [Prophet] Salih.' He then came and put [his body] together with [the bodies of] his son and nephews." Sibt al-Jawzi says in his al-Tadhkirah (pg.٢٥٢; Najaf edition): "As al-Husayn (as) looked [around], [he saw] his son crying of thirst. He took him in his arms and said [to his enemies]: 'O people! If you have no mercy on me, then have mercy on this child! [In reply,] a man from among them shot an arrow at [the child] and slaughtered it. [At this] al-Husayn (as) started weeping and saying: 'O Allah, judge between us and a people who invited us in order to help us, and [now] they are killing us.' A cry was heard from the heavens: 'Leave him O Husayn! For he has a wet-nurse [who will suckle him] in Heaven."

sides. 'Abdullah bin Qutbah al-Nabahani al-Ta'i attacked 'Aun bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Abi Talib and killed him.(١) Then 'Amir bin Nahshal al-Taimi attacked Muhammad bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Abi Talib and killed him.(٢)

The Martyrdom of the Members from the Household of 'Aqil

'Uthman bin Khalid bin Asir al-Juhani and Bishr bin Haut al-Qabidhi al-Hamdani launched an attack on 'Abd al-Rahman, son of 'Aqil bin Abi Talib, and killed him.(٣) [Thereafter,] they plundered [his belongings].

'Abdullah bin 'Azarah al-Khath'ami(٤) shot [an arrow] at Ja'far, [another] son of 'Aqil bin Abi Talib and killed him.

Then 'Amru bin Subaih al-Sudda'i(٥) shot an arrow at 'Abdullah, son of Muslim bin 'Aqil(٦), which stitched his hand to his forehead, such that he could no longer move his hand. ['Amru] then shot another arrow at him which tore his heart.(٧) Labit bin Yasir al-Juhani killed Muhammad, son of Abi Sa'id bin 'Aqil.(٨)

The Martyrdom of other Two Sons of al-Hasan bin 'Ali (as)

'Abdullah bin Uqbah al-Ghanawi(٩) shot an arrow at Abu Bakr, son of al-Hasan (١٠) bin 'Ali and killed him.(١١) 'Abdullah, [another] son of al-Hasan bin Abi Talib, was [also] killed; [that is when] Harmalah bin Kahil(١٢) shot an arrow at him and killed him.(١٣)

The Martyrdom Of Al-Husayn (as)

Al-Husayn (as) Advances Towards the Battlefield

When [only] three or four people had remained with al-Husayn (as), he called for a pair of dazzling Yemeni trousers (sarawil). He tore them [and put them on], so that he should not have them plundered [after his martyrdom].(۱۴),(۱۵)

He waited for a good part of the day. Whenever someone from the people came to him, he would go away, disliking to take up the responsibilty of killing him and

p: ۲۳۹

۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۹): "His mother was Jumanah, daughter of Musayyab bin Najabah al-Ghazari." Musayyab was one of the heads of the Tawwabun movement, from among the Shi'ah in Kufah. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani says in al-Maqatil (pg.۶۰; Najaf edition): "'Aun's mother was [Lady] Zainab, the wise lady (al-'aqilah) [of the Banu Hashim], daughter of 'Ali bin Abi Talib (as)."

۲- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۹): "His mother was Khawsa', daughter of Khasafah bin Thaqif al-Taimi, from the clan of Bakr bin Wa'il." So has been narrated by Abu al-Faraj also in al-Maqatil (pg.۶۰; Najaf edition). But bin Ibn al-Jawzi mentions her in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۵; Najaf edition) as Hawt, daughter of Hafsah al-Tamimi.

۳- Al-Tabari (۶:۵۹): "Mukhtar had dispatched 'Abdullah bin Kamil against them while they were trying to move to al-Jazirah [i.e. Mosul]. Ibn al-Kamil and his men chased them up and caught up with them at al-Jabbanah. They [were arrested and] brought before [Ibn Kamil]. He then took them to a place called Bi'r al-Ja'd. There he beheaded them and burnt their bodies. They were mourned by A'sha' al-Hamdani." However, according to al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۹): "The assassin of 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Aqil was 'Uthman bin Khalid al-Juhani only, without the association of Bishr bin Hawt al-Hamdani." Abu al-Faraj mentions both of them as his assassins in al-Maqatil (pg.۶۱; Najaf edition), through the same chain of narration (sanad) which has appeared in al-Tabari.

۴- According to al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۹), He was killed by Bishr bin Hawt al-Hamdani, whereas in (۶:۶۵) he mentions al-Khath'ami saying: "'Abdullah bin 'Urwah al-Khath'ami, the one who was pursued by Mukhtar but he escaped and joined Mus'ab." Abu al-Faraj refers to him in al-Maqatil (pg.۶۱; Najaf edition) as 'Abdullah bin 'Urwah al-Khath'ami,

.through the same chain of narration as mentioned in al-Tabari

٥- Al-Tabari: Mukhtar was chasing him. His men entered upon ['Amru] at night when people were asleep. He was in his bed and did not realize. They arrested him while his sword was beneath his head, so he said regarding this [afterwards]: 'Shame on you O sword. You were very close, yet so far!' He used to say [after his arrest]: 'I have [only] stabbed and wounded some of [the members of the household of the Prophet in Karbala']. I did not kill anyone of them.' He was brought to Mukhtar who imprisoned him in the palace. The next morning when Mukhtar allowed people to visit him, ['Amru] was brought before him in shackles. He said: 'O the infidels and the wicked! By Allah, had I a sword in my hand, you would have come to know that I do not tremble infront of a sword, nor am I a coward. If I am going to die by being killed, then it is not dear to me to get killed by any of the creatures other than you! For I know that you are the worst of the creatures of Allah! But I still wish that I had a sword in my hand, so that I would have fought with you for a while!' Then he raised his hand and slapped the eye of Ibn Kamil who was [standing] by his side. Ibn Kamil laughed [at this] and grabbed his hand, stopping him [from repeating that act]. [Ibn Kamil] then said [to Mukhtar]: 'He claims to have [only] wounded and stabbed [some] among the family of Muhammad. So give us your order concerning him.' Mukhtar said: 'Bring me a spear.' So he was brought [a spear]. He then ordered: 'Stab him to death!' and he was stabbed to death" (٦:٦٥). Al-Tabari reports in (٥:٤٦٩) from Abu Mikhnaf that: "['Amru] is the one who killed 'Abdullah bin 'Aqil bin Abi Talib (as)." Whereas in (٦:٦٤) he says that: "The one who shot an arrow at 'Abdullah bin Muslim bin 'Aqil was Zayd bin Ruqad al-Janabi. [Zayd] used to say: 'I shot a young man from among them with an arrow [on his forehead]. He tried to guard against it by putting his hand on his forehead, but I stitched his hand to his forehead such that he was unable to take it off from it! As his hand was stuck to his forehead, [the young man said: 'O Allah, they have belittled us and humiliated us. O Allah, kill them the way they have killed us.' [Zayd] then shot another arrow at him which killed him. He used to say about this: 'He was dead when I got to him. I had to wrench the arrow off his forehead. I managed to take it off but its arrowhead was stuck on his forehead such that I was unable to take it out." [Sometime after the event of Karbala',] Mukhtar dispatched 'Abdullah bin Kamil al-Shakiri to pursue him. The latter came to his house and surrounded it. His men forced their way [into the house]

and al-Janabi came out with his sword drawn. Ibn Kamil said: "Shower him with arrows and stone him." They did so until he fell on the ground. Ibn Kamil then ordered
.(for fire and burnt him while he was still alive (۶:۶۴

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۹): "His mother was Ruqayyah, daughter of 'Ali bin Abi Talib (as)." See -۶
.(also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۶۲; Najaf edition

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۹): "Abu Mikhnaf says..." See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۶۲; Najaf -۷
.(edition

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۷): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid narrated to me from -۸
"...Humaid bin Muslim al-Azdi who said

Al-Tabari: He was among those who had revolted with Mustawrad bin 'Alafah in -۹
Kufah in the year ۴۳ H, during the governership of Mughirah bin Shu'bah over the city. Al-Ghanawi was a scribe, so al-Mustawrad instructed him to write [a letter for him] and then take it to Sammak bin 'Ubaid, the governer of Madain, inviting him to [pay allegiance to] al-Mustawrad. He did so and then returned to al-Mustawrad. (۵:۱۹۰) When the followers of al-Mustawrad were killed, al-Ghanawi fled and entered Kufah [and put up at] Sharik bin Namlah's [place]. He asked the latter to go to see Mughirah bin Shu'bah and request him for a safe-conduct for him. [Sharik] did so and Mughirah [accepted his request and] said: "I have granted him protection (۵:۲۰۶). After the event of Karbala', [al-Ghanawi] fled from Mukhtar and joined Mus'ab bin al-Zubair. Later, he joined 'Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Ash'ath (۵:۲۰۵). Mukhtar tried to pursue him
.(but found him to have escaped, so he demolished his house (۶:۶۵

He was the son of al-Hasan (as) as recorded in al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۸). On page ۴۴۸ of the -۱۰
same volume, his name appears as Abu Bakr, son of al-Husayn bin 'Ali, which is
.incorrect

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۸): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] "'Uqbah bin Bashir al-Asadi reports that 'Abu -۱۱
Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Ali bin al-Husayn said to me..." Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani has narrated this report in Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۵۷; Najaf edition) [from two different chains of narration]. [The first chain of narration reads as follows:] "From al-Madaini who was narrating on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf from Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid..." [While the second one reads:] "From 'Amru bin Shamir who related on the authority of
"...(Jabir from Abu Ja'far al-Baqir (as

Ibn Kahil as reported by al-Tabari (۶:۶۵). However, in (۵:۴۶۸) he says Ibn Kahin, -۱۲

which is [definitely] not correct. [Al-Tabari] has not mentioned that Mukhtar was in pursuit of him and the manner in which he [eventually] killed him. Hisham says: "Abu al-Hudhayl –a man from the Sakun- related to me saying: 'I saw Hani' bin Thubait al-Hadhrami sitting in a gathering of the Hadramis during the time of Khalid bin 'Abdillah, who was an old man at that time. I heard him say: 'I was among those who witnessed the killing of al-Husayn. By Allah, I was standing in a group of ten men, all of whom were on the horses. The cavalry [of Ibn Sa'd] were moving around and were scattered apart. Suddenly a young boy from the family of al-Husayn came out from those tents, with the pillar of a tent in his hands. He was wearing a waist-cloth and a shirt. He seemed frightened and was [repeatedly] looking to his right and left. It is just as if I am looking at the two pearls on his ears swinging as he turns. A man approached him, galloping his horse. As he drew closer to the boy, he bent down from his horse, targeted the boy with the sword and cut him down!" Abu al-Faraj relates this report from al-Madaini in his al-Maqatil (pg.۷۹; Najaf edition). Abu Mikhnaf says: "Hasan bin al-Hasan and 'Umar bin al-Hasan were considered too young by the people and were, therefore, not killed (۵:۴۴۹)." Among the retainers (mawali) killed in Karbala' were Sulaiman and Manjah, the retainers of al-Husayn (as) (al-Tabari:۵:۴۶۹).

۱۳- This is as it has been reported in al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۸) and Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۵۸; Najaf edition) from al-Madaini. However, the predominant view is that he is the one who escaped from the tents to the point where his uncle [al-Husayn] had come to the ground, and was killed there, as we shall see later. And this is the version recorded by al-Mufid in al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۱; Najaf edition).

۱۴- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۱): "Some of his companions said to him: 'You better wear a tabban (short dress) under [the trouser].' He said: 'That is the garment of humiliation. It does not befit me to wear it.' When he was killed, Bahr bin Ka'b plundered [the trouser] from him. Abu Mikhnaf says: "Amru bin Shu'aib narrated to me from Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Rahman that the hands of Bahr bin Ka'b used to sprinkle drops of water in winter, and they would become dry in the summer as if they were sticks".

۱۵- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۱): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid related to me from Humaid bin Muslim that…" See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۱).

[the great sin [to shoulder.

Malik bin al-Nusair [al-Baddi al-Kindi](1) came to him and struck his head with [his] sword. It cut through the hood he was wearing and reached his head. He started bleeding and the hood was filled with blood. Al-Husayn (as) said to Malik: "May you not eat or drink with [your hand]. May Allah resurrect you with the oppressors!"

Al-Husayn (as)] then threw away the hood and called for a cap. He wore it and] surrounded it with a turban.(2),(3)

So he had the cloth tied [over the hood which was made of black silk]. He put on a shirt(4) [or] a cloak of made of silken material, while his hair was dyed. [Al-Husayn (as)] fought like a brave knight, guarding against the [arrows], availing the weak points [of the enemy] and attacking the cavalry fiercely.(5)

Meanwhile,] Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan advanced with around ten foot soldiers from] among the Kufan army towards the tent of al-Husayn (as), inside which there was his load and family. [Seeing this, al-Husayn (as) began] walking towards [the tent], but [the people] came between him and the tents. So al-Husayn (as) said: "Woe upon you! If you have no religion and do not fear the Day of Resurrection, then be free men of noble descent in this world! Protect my tent and family from your rabble and ignorant men!"

Ibn Dhi al-Jaushan said: "You are granted that O son of Fatimah!" and proceeded towards him with the foot soldiers. [At this] al-Husayn (as) began attacking

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1- Al-Tabari: He was the messenger of Ibn Ziyad who brought his letter to Hurr bin Yazid while he was on the way, [instructing him] to force al-Husayn (as) to halt. (5:408)

2- Al-Tabari (5:448): The hood was made of silk. Al-Kindi came [to the body of the Imam (as) and] plundered it. When he went back with it to his family, he started washing off the blood from it. His wife saw him doing that and she understood [the matter]. So she said: 'Do you bring into my house that which you have plundered from the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (S)?! Take it out from me!' The friends of Malik say that he continued to remain poor with it [as a result his action] until he died." Al-Mufid

has also related this report in al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۱). He refers to Malik as 'Ibn al-Yasr' instead of Ibn al-Nusair. According to Majma' al-Bahrain, the hood (al-barnas) was a long cap made of cotton. It was worn by Christian monks and was later adopted by .Muslim ascetics during the early period of Islam

Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani narrates in al-Maqatil (pg.۷۸; Najaf edition) from Abu - ۳ Mikhnaf who said: "Hisham reports from Qasim bin al-Asbagh bin Nubatah on the authority of his father, Muhammad bin Sa'ib, that: 'Someone who happened to see al-Husayn (as) in his camp has related to me that: 'When the army of [al-Husayn (as)] was overpowered, he whipped his horse and set off towards the dam, trying to reach the Euphrates. A man from the Banu Aban bin Darim said: 'Woe upon you! Prevent him from reaching the water!' So the people chased him and came between him and the Euphrates. The man from the Banu Darim took an arrow [and shot it at him] which lodged in his throat. Al-Husayn pulled out the arrow and held his hand below his throat. Both his palms were filled with blood and then he said: 'O Allah! I complain to you about what is being done to the son of the daughter of your Prophet. O Allah, afflict him with thirst!" Qasim bin Asbagh says: "Indeed I have seen him, by his side there were jugs of milk and pitchers of water. The water was being cooled for him and sweetened with sugar. He would say: 'Woe onto you! Give me water to drink. I am dying of thirst!' So they would give him the jug or the pitcher and he would have some from it. The moment he removed it from his lips and the satisfaction would go away, he would [again] say: 'Woe upon you! Give me a drink! I am dying of thirst!' By Allah, it was not long before his belly bursted like the bursting of the stomach of a camel." Al-Tabari (۵:۴۴۹-۴۵۰): "Hisham says: "Amru bin Shamir related to me from Jabir al-Ju'fi who said: 'Al-Husayn (as) was thirsty. When his thirst became severe, he drew near [the Euphrates] to drink from its water. So Husayn bin Tamim shot an arrow at him which lodged in his mouth. [Al-Husayn (as)] began collecting the blood from his mouth and throwing it to the sky. He said: 'O Allah, take account of them, destroy them entirely and do not leave a single of them on the earth.'(۵:۴۴۹-۴۵۰). In (۵:۴۴۷-۴۴۸) [the chain of narration of this report appears as such:] "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaiman bin "...Abi Rashid related to me from Humaid bin Muslim that

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۲): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from - ۴ "...Humaid bin Muslim that

5- Al-Tabari (5:452): "[Abu Mikhnaf reports] on the authority of al-Hajjaj from 'Abdullah bin 'Ammar al-Bariqi who said..."

them and they would disperse from him.(1)

Abdullah bin 'Ammar al-Bariqi(2) says: "The foot soldiers that were on his right and left side launched an assault on him. He thus attacked those who were on his right such that they were frightened [and retreated]. [He then attacked] those on the left and they [also] were terrified. By Allah, I have never seen a broken [and a wounded] person, whose children, kinsmen and companions had been slain, so tranquil, more resolute and more courageous than him. By Allah, I have not seen his like, neither before him, nor after him. Indeed, the foot soldiers were fleeing from his right and left as goats would flee [and scatter] from a wolf.

As 'Umar bin Sa'd drew closer to al-Husayn (as), his sister Zainab, daughter of Fatimah, came out and said: "O 'Umar bin Sa'd! Is Abu 'Abdillah being killed while you [stand by and] watch?! So he turned away his face from her(3). It is just as if I am seeing the tears of 'Umar running down his cheeks and beard!"(4)

[Meanwhile,] al-Husayn (as) was attacking the cavalry and saying: "Are you inciting] one another to kill me! By Allah, you are not going to kill any servant of Allah after me whose killing will incur more wrath upon you than [killing] me. By Allah, I anticipate that Allah shall honour me by disgracing you, and shall take vengeance on you from where you do not perceive(5). By Allah, if you kill me, Allah will

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1- (Al-Tabari (5:450): "Abu Mikhnaf reports..." See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.79).

2 - Al-Tabari (5:565): He is the person who gave an account of the order of the Commander of the Faithful ['Ali (as)] -as he was advancing towards Siffin in the year 26 H- that a bridge be built over the Euphrates.

3- (See also al-Irshad (pg.242; Najaf edition).

4- Al-Tabari (5:451): "[Abu Mikhnaf reports] from 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Ammar al-Bariqi, who narrated from Hajjaj that..." Al-Mufid has narrated the report in al-Irshad (pg.241)

.from Humaid bin Muslim

The prayer of the Imam (as) was answered. Thus came Mukhtar and sent Abu - ۵ 'Umrah to 'Umar bin Sa'd, ordering him to bring Ibn Sa'd to him. Abu 'Umrah came to 'Umar and said: "The governor is summoning you." As 'Umar stood up, he was tripped by his garment. So Abu 'Umrah struck him with [his] sword and killed him. Then he put his head under his cloak, [went to Mukhtar,] and placed it before him! Hafs bin 'Umar bin Sa'd was sitting with Mukhtar. So Mukhtar asked him: "Do you know this head?" Hafs recited the verse: 'Indeed we belong to Allah and to Him do we indeed return', and said: "Yes, and life is worthless after him!" Mukhtar said: "But you [too] are not going to live after him." He then ordered him to be killed and he was killed. His head .(was then put with that of his father. (See al-Tabari: ۶:۶۱

cause you to fight one another and to shed your blood. Then he will not leave you until (he doubles for you the severe punishment."(۱)

Thereafter, Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan advanced towards al-Husayn (as) with the foot soldiers. Among them were Sinan bin Anas al-Nakha'i, Khauliyy bin Yazid al-Asbahi(۲), Salih bin Wahab al-Yazani, Qash'am bin Amr al- Ju'fi and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Ju'fi.(۳) Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan began inciting them [against Husein (as)], so they .[(completely encircled [al-Husayn (as

A boy(۴) from among his household came out towards al-Husayn (as). Al-Husayn (as) said to his sister, Zainab bint 'Ali: "Stop him." So she held him in order to stop him, but .(he refused [to take notice of her] and determinedly advanced towards al-Husayn (as

Bahr bin Ka'b rushed towards al-Husayn (as) with [his] sword. The young lad said [to him]: "O son of an impure woman! Are you [trying to] kill my uncle?!" [Bahr] struck at him with [his] sword. The boy tried to fend off [the blow] with his arm, but the sword "!cut through [his arm] to the skin [on the other side]. The boy cried out: "O my mother

Al-Husayn (as) took hold of him and embraced him. He said: "My nephew, be patient on what has come to you, and anticipate in this the best [from Allah], for Allah will unite you with your righteous ancestors, the Messenger of Allah, 'Ali bin Abi Talib, Hamzah and Hasan bin 'Ali.(۵) May Allah bless them all. O Allah, withhold rain from them and

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۱ - Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۲): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from Humaid bin Muslim that..."

۲ - Al-Tabari (۶:۵۹): Mukhtar had sent Ma'adh bin Hani' bin 'Adiyy al-Kindi -the nephew of Hujr bin 'Adiyy, and Abu 'Amarah -the head of his bodyguards, in pursuit of him. Khauliyy hid himself near the exit [of his house]. So Ma'adh ordered Abu 'Amarah to search for him in the house. As they were entering the house, his wife came out to them. They said to her: "Where is your husband? She replied: "I do not know" and pointed towards the exit. So they entered [the house] and found him [at its exit], with a basket made of date palm leaves on his head. They took him out and burnt him.

۳ - Al-Tabari: He was among those who gave witness against Hujr bin 'Adiyy al-Kindi (۵:۲۷۰). He was in command of the Madhhij and Asad in the army of 'Umar bin Sa'd on the day of 'Ashura' (۵:۴۲۲).

۴ - According to Shaikh al-Mufid in al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۱), he was 'Abdullah bin al-Hasan. There are indications [also] that support this view. It has been mentioned earlier that Harmalah bin Kahil was the one who shot an arrow at him which killed him. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani also has narrated this incident -at this particular point of the event of Karbala'- in al-Maqatil (pg.۷۷; Najaf edition), from Abu Mikhnaf who reported from Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid, who related from Humaid bin Muslim.

۵ - Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۰): "Abu Mikhnaf says in a report..." See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۷۷; Najaf edition). He narrated it from Humaid bin Muslim on the authority of Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid.

deprive them of the blessings of the earth. O Allah, if you are going to give them comfort till a time, then divide them into factions and make them sects following different ways. Let their rulers never be pleased with them. They summoned us so that they might support us, [but] they became hostile to us and killed us."(۱)

He waited for a large part of the day. Had the people wished to kill him, they could have done so. But [they were hesitant in killing him such that] each of them would take refuge in the other and a group among them would wish that the other group may

spare it [the great sin]. Then Shamir shouted at the people: "Woe onto you! Why are you waiting for the man?! Kill him! May your mothers be deprived of you!" So he was .attacked from every side

(The Martyrdom of al–Husayn (as

Zur'ah bin Sharik al-Tamimi struck him on his palm (۲) and struck [another blow] on his shoulder. Thus, he would [try to] stand, but would fall prostrate on his noble face. In such a condition, Sinan bin Anas al-Nakha'i stabbed him with a spear such that he (as) fell [to the ground]. No one would get closer to al-Husayn (as) except that Sinan bin Anas would charge on him, fearing that the head of [al-Husayn (as)] may fall in the hands of someone else. He then bent down, slaughtered him and separated his .[head.(۳) Thereafter, he handed [the head] to Khauliyy bin Yazid [al-Asbahi

Al-Husayn (as) was

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۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۱): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid has narrated to me .(from Humaid bin Muslim who said..." See al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۱

۲- It was his left shoulder according to al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۲) and Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۵۳). 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Muqarram narrates this report in al-Maqtal (pg.۱۶) from the .book al-Ithaf bi-Hubb al-Ashraf

۳- Ibn al-Jawzi mentions five different views concerning the assasin of the Imam (as) and [ultimately] prefers that it was Sinan. He then narrates that [one day] Sinan entered upon Hajjaj, so he asked him: "Are you the killer of al-Husayn?" "Yes", he replied. Hajjaj said: "Good news to you, as you will never be with him in the same abode." The people said that Hajjaj has never been heard saying a better word than this!" Ibn al-Jawzi further says: "[After the martyrdom of al-Husayn (as)], people counted [the number of wounds] on his body and found that he was stabbed ۳۳ times and ۳۴ sword strikes [were evident on his body]. And they found on his clothes that he ".was shot ۱۲۰ arrows

plundered of all that was on him. Qais bin al-Ash'ath(۱) took his plush, while Ishaq bin

Haiwah al-Hadhrami his shirt(٢). A man from the Banu Nahshal took his sword. His slippers were taken by Aswad [al-Audi] and Bahr bin Ka'b took his trousers(٣), leaving him uncovered.(٤)

After The Martyrdom Of Al-Husayn (as)

The Looting of the Tents

The people turned to the womenfolk of al-Husayn (as), plundering them, his belongings and provision, the [Yemeni] dye(٥), the garments and the camels. [The people] would wrest the clothes of the women from their backs and take them.(۶)

The people said to Sinan bin Anas: "You have killed Husayn bin 'Ali, son of Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet of Allah (S). You have killed a person from among the Arabs who posed the greatest threat [to the Banu Umayyah]. He had come to these people in order to remove them from the power. So go to your masters and ask your reward from them! Even if they were to give you their treasuries for killing al-Husayn, it would [still] be little!"

Sinan, who was a little crazy, came with his horse and stopped at the door of 'Umar bin Sa'd's tent. He shouted at the top of his voice:

Fill my saddles with silver and gold, I have killed the lord of the chosen ones.

I have killed the best of men with regard to his mother and father, the best of them mentioned in lineage.(٧)

'Umar bin Sa'd said: "Bring him to me." When [Sinan] was brought in, he threw [his] staff at him and then

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١ - Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵٣): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair narrated to me from Humaid bin Muslim that..."

٢- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۵): "[Abu Mikhnaf reports:] 'Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid has related to me from Humaid bin Muslim..."

۳- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۲): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘Saq’ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from Humaid bin Muslim that...”

۴- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۱): “[Abu Mikhnaf reports:] ‘Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid related to me from Humaid bin Muslim, who said...” Sibt al-Jawzi has clearly stated this fact in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۳) saying: “They plundered all that was on him, even his trousers which was taken by Bahr bin Ka’b al-Tamimi.” Al-Mufid mentions this in al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۱۲۴۲) adding that: “After this, the two hands of Bahr bin Ka’b, may Allah curse him, used to become so dry in the summer that they were like sticks, and then soaking wet in the winter such that they sprinkled blood and pus, until Allah destroyed him.”

۵- Waras is a yellow flower similar to saffron with a good fragrance. It used to be brought from Yemen. The Imam (as) had taken it from the people who were carrying it to Yazid [bin Mu’awiyah] at Tan’im, at the beginning of his departure from Makkah. Among those who plundered the dye on the day of ‘Ashura’ were Ziyad bin Malik al-Dabi’i, ‘Imran bin Khalid al-‘Anzi, ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Bajali and ‘Abdullah bin Qais al-Khaulani. When Mukhtar was informed about them, he called them and they came to him. He told them: “O killers of the righteous! Assasins of the lord of the youths in Heaven! Do you not think that Allah has brought you [here] today [to take vengeance on you]?! The dye has, indeed, brought on you an ominous day!” He then took them to the market place and killed them. See al-Tabari (۶:۵۸).

۶- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۳): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘Saq’ab bin Zuhair has related to me from Humaid bin Muslim who said...” Al-Ya’qubi says in al-Tarikh (۲:۲۳۲): “They looted his tents and robbed [the belongings of] his womenfolk.” Al-Mufid has also related this report in al-Irshad (pg. ۲۴۲). Sibt al-Jawzi says in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۴): “They stripped his womenfolk and daughters of their clothes.”

۷- See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.۸۰; Najaf edition), Tadhkirat al-Khawass (pg.۲۵۴; Najaf edition) and Muruj al-Dhahab (۳:۷۰).

said: “O mad! I testify that you are mad and you have never regained sanity. How dare you speak like this! By Allah, if Ibn Ziyad had heard you [saying this], he would have killed you!”

Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan [attacked] the belongings of al-Husayn (as) with a group of

foot soldiers. Then they came to ‘Ali bin al-Husayn al-Asghar, who was stretched out on a bed. The foot soldiers were saying [to one another]: “Should we not kill this ”?[[man

Humaid bin Muslim reports: “[At this] I said: Glory be to Allah! Shall we kill boys [too]?! This is only a boy!(۱) ‘Umar bin Sa‘d then arrived and said: “No one should disturb this sick boy or enter the tents of these women. Whoever has taken any of their .belongings should return it to them.” But none of them returned anything

Umar bin Sa‘d then arrested ‘Uqbah bin Sim’an and asked him: “Who are you?” He‘ replied: “I am a slave.” So he let him go. He was, thus, the only person among [al-(Husayn’s companion] to be saved.(۲

The Trampling on al-Husayn’s Body

Thereafter, ‘Umar bin Sa‘d called out to his followers: “Who will volunteer [to go] to al-Husayn and make his horse trample on [his body]?” Ten [men] volunteered. Of these, Ishaq bin Haiwah al-Hadhrami and Ahbash bin Mirthad al-Hadhrami came forward and trampled on [the body of] al-Husayn (as) with their horses until they had crushed (his back and chest.(۳

Umar bin Sa‘d then performed the funeral prayer for those of his followers who were‘ killed, and

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Tabari writes in his Dhayl al-Mudhayyal (pg.۶۳۰; Dar al-Ma’arif publications, edited -۱ by Muhammad Abu al-Fadhl Ibrahim): “‘Ali bin al-Husayn al-Asghar [i.e. the younger] was present in Karbala’ with his father. He was then ۲۳ years of age. He was ill, sleeping on the bed. When al-Husayn (as) was killed, Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan said: ‘Kill this [man]!’ So a man from among his followers said: ‘Glory be to Allah! Will you kill a young man, who is sick and did not fight?’ ‘Umar bin Sa’d then arrived and said: ‘Do not disturb these women nor this sick man.” Al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۲) and al-Tadhkirah .(pg.۲۵۶۲۵۸; Najaf edition) have narrated this in similar vein

Al-Tabari: Marqa' bin Thumamah al-Asadi had spread his arrows on the ground and -۲ fighting while he was kneeling. A number of his clansmen came and said to him: "You are safe. Come over to us." So he went to them. When 'Umar bin Sa'd returned to Ibn Ziyad with the army and informed him, among other things, of the case of Marqa', Ibn Ziyad deported him to al-Zarah (۵:۴۵۴). Al-Zarah is a place in Oman, known for its severe heat. Those sentenced to deportation were being sent to this place. We mentioned earlier how Dahhak bin 'Abdullah al-Mushriqi al-Hamdani left [the battlefield] with the permission of the Imam (as), in accordance with the conditions he had put before him. [These were those who left the Imam (as) for one reason or the other]. But as for those who were saved from being killed [on the day of 'Ashura'], Abu Mikhnaf says: "'Ali bin al-Husayn was considered very young [by the enemy] (۵:۴۶۸). Hasan bin al-Hasan bin 'Ali and 'Umar bin al-Hasan bin 'Ali were [also] considered to be very young. So they were spared and were not killed (۵:۴۶۹). As for 'Abdullah bin al-Hasan, he was also killed (۵:۴۶۸). According to Abu al-Faraj in al-Maqatil (pg.۷۹; Najaf edition): "Hasan bin al-Hasan bin 'Ali was covered with wounds and was thus carried ".[[away from the battlefield

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۱۵): Later Ishaq bin Haiwah al-Hadhrami was afflicted by leprosy. I -۳ [have also] heard that during another battle after this, Ahbash bin Mirthad al-Hadhrami was standing when an arrow, whose thrower was not known, came and splitted his heart, leaving him dead. Ibn Sa'd committed this atrocity because of the order of Ibn Ziyad in his letter to 'Umar: "If al-Husayn is killed, then make the horses trample his chest and back. For he is disobedient and an opponent; an oppressor and one who is set to sever [all] relations; I do not believe that this action [of trampling the body] after death does any harm [to the dead], but I have promised myself that I would do this to him, if I killed him!" The trampling [of the body of al-Husayn (as)] has been reported also in al-Maqatil (pg.۷۹) of Abu al-Faraj, Muruj al-Dhahab (۳:۷۲) of al-Mas'udi, al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۲; Najaf edition) of al-Mufid and al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۴) of Sibt bin al-Jawzi. Ibn al-Jawzi further adds: "[After trampling the body,] they found a black spot on his back. So they inquired about it and were told: "He used to carry food on his ".back at night to the needy people of Madinah

buried them. He dispatched on the same day the head of [the Imam (as)] with

Khauliyy bin Yazid to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad. When Khauliyy approached the palace, he found that the gate of the palace was closed. So he went to his house(۱) and placed the head beneath a [large] bowl. In the early morning of the next day, he went to .'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad with the head

The Household Of Al-Husayn (as) In Kufah

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Umar bin Sa'd remained [there for the rest of] that day and the next day.(۲) He' ordered the heads of the remainder [of al-Husayn's followers who had been slain] to be cut off. He then sent seventy-two heads(۳) with Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan, Qais bin Ash'ath, 'Amru bin al-Hajjaj and 'Azarah bin Qais. They journeyed until they brought .them to 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad

Umar] then ordered Humaid bin Bukair al-Ahmari(۴) to summon the people for the'] journey to Kufah. He took with him the daughters and sisters of al-Husayn (as), the (children, and 'Ali bin al-Husayn who was [still] sick.(۵

Qurrah bin Qais al-Tamimi reports: "I will not forget Zainab, the daughter of Fatimah, when she passed by her brother al-Husayn (as) lying dead. She was crying: 'O Muhammad! O Muhammad! The angels from the heavens salute you! Here is al-Husayn lying in the plains, covered in [his] blood, with his limbs severed from his body. O Muhammad! And your daughters have become captives, while your offspring have been killed and left for the east wind to blow on them.' By Allah, her

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Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۵): "Hisham reports: 'My father has related to me from Nawwar, - ۱ daughter of Malik bin 'Aqrab -who was a Hadhrami, and the wife of Khauliyy, that she said: 'Khauliyy came with the head of al-Husayn (as) and put it under a [large] vessel in the house. He then entered the room and went to sleep. I asked him: 'What are the news? What have you brought?' He replied: 'I have brought you endless wealth. This is the head of al-Husayn with you in this house!' So I said: 'Woe onto you! The people

have come with gold and silver, and you have come with the head of the son of the Messenger of Allah (S)?! Nay by Allah, I will never live with you [again]!' She further says: 'Then I rose from my bed and went out. I sat down looking [at the vessel]. By Allah, I was continuously seeing [a beam of] light, like a pillar, shining from the heavens down to the vessel. I also saw a white bird fluttering around it."

۲- See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۳).

۳- See al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۳). Sibt bin al-Jawzi says in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۶; Najaf): "There were ninty-two heads." But this is, perhaps, due to the misspelling of seventy (sab'in), for he himself asserts on page ۲۵۹ of the same book: "There were more than seventy heads."

۴- Al-Tabari (۵:۳۶۸): "He was one of the bodyguards of Ibn Ziyad. Ibn Ziyad had sent him with Shuraih, the chief judge, to monitor [Shuraih] when he sent the latter to see Hani' and then to inform his clansmen that he was safe. Shuraih later used to say: "I swear by Allah, had he not been with me, I would have conveyed to the followers of Hani' what he had asked me to tell them."

۵- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۳-۴۵۵): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid narrated to me from Humaid bin Muslim that..."

wails made every friend and foe weep(۱). The women lamented and struck their faces."(۲)

The Burial of al-Husayn (as) and His Companions

[Some of] the Banu Asad, who had been staying at al-Ghadhiriyyah, buried al-Husayn (as) and his followers, a day after they were killed.(۳),(۴)

The Head of the Imam (as) Before Ibn Ziyad

Humaid bin Muslim narrates: "Umar bin Sa'd summoned me and sent me to his family members to give them the good news of the victory of Allah granted to him and that he was in safety. So I proceeded until I came to his family and informed them about that.

There [I saw] Ibn Ziyad sitting, while the delegation that brought [the heads] had [just]

entered on him. The [people of] Kindah, led by Qais bin al-Ash'ath, came forward with thirteen heads. The [people of] Hauzan, under Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan, came with twenty heads. Seventeen heads were brought by the [men from the] Tamim. Banu Asad brought six heads. Madhhij came with seven heads and the rest of the army .came [in] with seven heads. This comes up to seventy heads

Ibn Ziyad] let them in and granted the [rest of] people the permission to enter. I was] one of those who went in. I saw the head of al-Husayn (as) placed in front of him, while he was poking at his front teeth with a staff. When Zayd bin Arqam(٥) saw that he would not stop poking [the teeth], he said: 'Take your cane away from those [two] lips. For, by He beside whom there is no deity, I have seen the lips of the

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.(See Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.٢۵۶ -١

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۵): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Abu Zuhair al-'Absi related to me from - ٢ "....Qurrah bin Qais al-Tamimi that

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۳-۴۵۵): "[Abu Mikhnaf report:] 'Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid has narrated to -٣ "...me from Humaid bin Muslim who said

See al-Irshad (pg.٢۴٣٢۴٩) and Muruj al-Dhahab (٣:٧٢). However, the predominant - ۴ opinion is [that the burial took place] three days after they were [martyred] and in the presence of Imam al-Sajjad (as), as the the debate between 'Ali bin Hamzah and Imam al-Ridha (as) attests to this fact. See Maqtal al-Husayn (pg.۴١۵) of 'Abd al-.Razzaq al-Muqarram

Sibt bin al-Jawzi narrates in al-Tadhkirah (pg.٢۵٧) from Ibn Sirin on the authority of -۵ al-Bukhari that: "When the head of al-Husayn (as) was placed in front of Ibn Ziyad, it was put in a wash-bowl. [Ibn Ziyad] began striking [al-Husayn's] teeth with a cane. Anas bin Malik was with him and so he started weeping and said: 'He is the most ".resemblance of them to the Prophet of Allah

Prophet of Allah (S) on those two lips, kissing them!' [With that] the old man broke into .tears

Ibn Ziyad said to him: 'May Allah make your two eyes weep! By Allah, if it was not for the fact that you are an old man who has become silly and your mind has left you, I would cut off your head.'

Zayd bin Arqam] stood up and went out(1) saying: 'A slave has appointed [another]] slave to rule and he is treating [the people] as his [own] property. O the community of the Arabs! [Know that] you have become slaves henceforth! You have killed the son of Fatimah and taken the son of Marjanah as [your] ruler! He will kill the righteous among you and enslave the wicked. You have thus accepted humiliation! And away from the people who have accepted humiliation!'(2)

After he went out, I heard people saying: 'By Allah, Zayd has said something that if Ibn Ziyad had heard, he would have killed him.'

The Captives in the Court of Ibn Ziyad

When [al-Husayn's] sisters, his womenfolk and children were brought before 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad, Zainab, the daughter of Fatimah, put on her mean clothes, pretending not to be herself. Her maids crowded around her and she sat.

'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad said: 'Who is that woman sitting?' She did not answer him. He repeated that three times, but she did not speak.

One of her maids [then] said: 'This is Zainab, daughter of Fatimah.'

'Ubaidullah said to her: 'All praise is due to Allah Who has disgraced you, killed you and revealed

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1- See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۳).

2- Sibt bin al-Jawzi has narrated this incident in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۷). He further adds: "[Zayd] then said: 'O Ibn Ziyad! I am indeed going to tell you a word which is harsher for you than this: I have seen the Prophet of Allah (S) seat al-Hasan on his right lap and al-Husayn on his left. Then he placed his hand on the crown of their heads and

said: 'O Allah, I commend to Your protection both of them and the righteous among the believers!' So how have you treated the trust of the Messenger of Allah (S) with you, O Ibn Ziyad?!" Ibn al-Jawzi then says: "Hisham bin Muhammad reports: 'When the head [of al-Husayn] was put before Ibn Ziyad, his fortuneteller said to him: 'Stand up and put your foot on the mouth of your adversary! So he stood and put his foot on [al-Husayn's] mouth. Then he said to Zayd bin Arqam: 'How do you find this?' [Zayd] said: 'By Allah, I have seen the Prophet of Allah (S) keeping his mouth where you have kept your foot." Ibn al-Jawzi then writes: "Al-Sha'bi said: 'Qais bin 'Abbad was with Ibn Ziyad. So he asked [Qais]: 'What is your opinion regarding me and al-Husayn?' He said: 'His grandfather, his father and mother will come and intercede for him on the Day of Judgement, while your grandfather, your father and mother will come and intercede for you!' [At this,] Ibn Ziyad became angry and asked him to leave the gathering." Ibn al-Jawzi relates from al-Tabaqat of Ibn Sa'd that he said: "Marjanah, the mother of Ibn Ziyad, said to his son [Ibn Ziyad]: 'O vicious [man]! You have killed the son of the Prophet of Allah! By Allah, you will never see the heaven!" See al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۹). .(Ibn al-Athir has also narrated this in al-Kamil (۴:۲۶۵

'.the false nature of your claims

Zainab] replied: 'Praise be to Allah Who honoured us with Muhammad (S) and purified] us with a thorough purification. It is not the way you have said. Only a sinner is '!disgraced [by Allah] and [only] the false nature of the wicked is revealed

'!?He said: 'How do you consider Allah has treated the members of your household

She replied: 'Death had been decreed for them and they went forward [bravely] to their resting places. Allah will gather you and them, and you will argue against each (other and dispute with one another before him.'(۱

At this] Ibn Ziyad became enraged and he burnt with anger. He said to her: 'Allah has] '!cured my soul from your tyrant [brother] and the rebellious members of your family

Here] Zainab wept. She then said: 'By my life, you have killed my elders and] destroyed my family. [You have] cut my branches and extracted my roots! If this is

’!what cures you, then you have been cured

Ubaidullah said: ‘This is a woman who rhymes her speech (sajja’ah).(۲) By my life,‘ ’.your father used to speak in rhymed prose and was a poet

She answered: ‘What has a woman to do with rhythmic construction of statements! I have [things] to distract me from that. But this is the agony of my heart that is flowing (on my tongue.’(۳

Thereafter, ‘Ubaidullah bin Ziyad looked at ‘Ali bin al-Husayn and asked him: ‘What is ’?your name

’.He replied: ‘I am ‘Ali bin al-Husayn

Ibn Ziyad] said: ‘Did Allah not]

.(See al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۳) and al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۸۲۵۹; Najaf edition -۱

The word sajja’ah and saja’ah in the text above have been recorded by Tabari as -۲ shaja’ah and shuja’ah (a brave woman). In al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۴; Najaf edition), al-Mufid has recorded these words in the same manner as we have brought them in the text, which is more appropriate and suitable as far as the context of the speech is .concerned

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۶-۴۵۷): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid has narrated to -۳ ”...me from Humaid bin Muslim that

.kill ‘Ali bin al-Husayn?!’ [At this, Imam al-Sajjad] remained silent

’?So Ibn Ziyad said to him: ‘Why are you not speaking

’.Al-Sajjad] said: ‘I had a brother who was also called ‘Ali. The people killed him]

Ibn Ziyad said: ‘Allah has indeed killed him.’ [Again] he remained quiet. So Ibn Ziyad ’?said: ‘Why are you not speaking

He said: 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death.'(۱) 'No soul may die except (with Allah's leave.'(۲

Ibn Ziyad said: 'By Allah, you are one of them [i.e. the rebellious].' [Then he said to '.Mariyy bin Ma'adh al-Ahmari:] 'Woe onto you! Kill him

His aunt, Zainab, clung on to him and said: 'O Ibn Ziyad! You have had enough of our blood! Have you still not quenched your thirst by our blood?! Is there anyone you have left among us?!' Then she embraced [al-Sajjad] and said: 'I beseech you by Allah -if '.you are a believer- that if you [intend to] kill him, then kill me with him

Ali [bin al-Husayn] called on him: 'If you have a bond of kinship with them [i.e. these' '.women], then ask a pious man to accompany them in a manner worthy of Islam

Ibn Ziyad looked at them and said: 'How wonderful is family relationship! By Allah, she (likes me to kill her with him, if I were to kill him. Leave the boy.'(۳),(۴

Ubaidullah bin Ziyad then stuck the head of al-Husayn [(as) on a spear] and ordered it' (to be taken round [the city of] Kufah."(۵

The Stand of 'Abdullah bin 'Afif

,[After the gathering was over]

.Qur'an, ۳۹:۴۲ -۱

.Qur'an, ۳:۱۴۵ -۲

Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۷): "[Abu Mikhnaf reports:] 'As for Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid, he related -۳ "...to me from Humaid bin Muslim who said

Tabari writes in Dhayl al-Mudhayyal that: "'Ali [bin al-Husayn al-Asghar] said: 'When -۴ I was brought before Ibn Ziyad, he asked me: 'What is your name?' I answered: 'Ali bin Husayn.' He said: 'Did Allah not kill 'Ali?' I said: 'I had a brother who was older than me and the people killed him!' He said: 'Rather Allah killed him.' I said: 'Allah takes the souls at the time of their death.' So he ordered me to be killed. Zainab bint 'Ali (as)

then said to him: ‘O Ibn Ziyad! You have had enough of our blood! I beseech you by Allah -if you are a believer- that if you [intend to] kill him, then kill me with him.’ So he left him.” Tabari then relates in Dhayl al-Mudhayyal (pg.۶۳۰; Dar al-Ma’arif publications), quoting from al-Tabaqat of Ibn Sa’d (۵:۲۱۱-۲۱۸), that he narrated from Malik bin Isma’il, who was relating from Sahl bin Shu’aib, who reported from his father Shu’aib, that Minhal bin ‘Amru said: “[One day] I went to see ‘Ali bin al-Husayn (as). I said to him: ‘How are you this morning, may Allah guide you?’ He said: ‘I have not seen an old man like you in this city, who does not know our condition! But if you are not aware and do not know about it, then I will inform you. [He then said:] ‘Our position among our people is that of the children of Israel amidst the people of Fir’aun. ‘They were slaying their sons and sparing their women.’ Abusing and cursing our master and leader [‘Ali bin Abi Talib] from the pulpits has become a means of gaining closeness to our enemy. The Quraish consider themselves superior than the Arabs because Muhammad was from them, not because of any other reason; while the Arabs are acknowledging that for them. The Arabs [on their part] see themselves to be superior to the non-Arabs because Muhammad is from them, and they have no other reason for their superiority except this; while the non-Arabs have accepted this from them. [Now], if the claim of the Arabs that they are superior to the non-Arabs is true, and if the claim of the Quraish that they enjoy superiority over the Arabs is [also] true, because [both the sides] argue that Muhammad is from them, then we, the household of Muhammad, certainly enjoy superiority over the Quraysh, because Muhammad was from us. But [unfortunately] they began taking our right and do not acknowledge any right for us! This is our situation, if you do not know what our condition is.” Ibn Sa’d says: “‘Abd al-Rahman bin Yunus narrated to us from Ja’far bin Muhammad [al-Sadiq] on the authority of Sufyan that: “Ali bin al-Husayn died at the age of ۵۸ years.’ This implies that ‘Ali bin al-Husayn was with his father [in Karbala’] when he was ۲۳ or ۲۴ years old. Therefore, the view that says that he was still a child at that time, who had not grown up, is in no way correct. Rather, he was sick at that time and thus could not fight. Besides this, how can he be a child at that time while Abu Ja’far Muhammad bin ‘Ali [al-Baqir] (as) had been born to him?” See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۴) for the conversation that took place between al-Sajjad and Ibn Ziyad. Ibn al-Jawzi has briefly related the actual report [i.e. the conversation between Ibn Ziyad,

.(Lady Zainab and Imam al-Sajjad] in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۸; Najaf edition

"...Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۹): "Abu Mikhnaf says -۵

it was announced: "Offer your prayers in congregation." So people gathered in the great mosque [of Kufah]. Ibn Ziyad ascended the pulpit and said:

Praise be to Allah Who has revealed the truth and the followers [of the truth], and has" given victory to the commander of the faithful, Yazid bin Mu'awiyah, and his party, and has killed the liar son of the liar: al-Husayn bin 'Ali, and his followers."

Ibn Ziyad had not yet finished his speech when 'Abdullah bin 'Afif al-Azdi al-Ghamidi - who was among the Shi'ah of 'Ali -[lit.] may Allah honour his face, and who would hardly leave the great mosque as he used to [be busy] praying in it the whole day(۱)- sprung up as he heard [these words from] Ibn Ziyad. He said:

The liar, son of the liar, is you and your father, and the one who appointed you as the" governer [i.e. Yazid] and his father. O son of Marjanah!(۲) You kill the sons of Prophets and speak the speech of the men of truth?!"

Ibn Ziyad said: "Get him for me."

The soldiers rushed towards him and arrested him. He gave the battle cry of al-Azd [saying]: "O the kind one!" So a number of young men from Azd quickly came forward, freed him and took him to his family.(۳)

Ibn Ziyad then sent someone who brought [Ibn 'Afif] to him. He killed him and ordered him to be crucified in al-Sabkhah, so he was crucified there.(۴)

(The Household Of Al-Husayn (as) in Sham (Syria)

point

Thereafter, Ibn Ziyad summoned Zahr bin Qais(۵), with whom

۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۸): “He lost his left eye in the battle of Jamal, fighting alongside ‘Ali (as). He was struck on his head in the battle of Siffin and a second strike on his eyebrow. He thus lost his other eye too.” See al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۴) for the actual incident. (Sibt bin al-Jawzi has also narrated the incident briefly in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۵۹).

۲- Marjanah is an Arabicized version of the Persian word mehrgan. She was the mother of Ibn Ziyad, who was a slave girl supposedly from Khuzistan.

۳- Al-Tabari: ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Mikhnaf al-Azdi was sitting. So he said: “Woe onto other than you! You have destroyed yourself and your clan!” (۵:۴۵۹). ‘Abd al-Rahman was the uncle of Abu Mikhnaf’s father, for he was the brother of Sa’id, the grandfather of Abu Mikhnaf. He participated in the battle of Siffin and had also stood against the raids launched by Mu’awiyah’s army, as reported in al-Tabari (۵:۱۳۳). He was with ‘Abdullah bin al-Muti’ al-‘Adawiyy –the governer of Ibn al-Zubair in Kufah- during the uprising of Mukhtar in ۶۶ H. Al-‘Adawiyy had sent him with some horsemen to the cemetery of the people of Said (۶:۱۸). ‘Abd al-Rahman was also among the advisers to al-‘Adawiyy, who advised him to leave Kufah and go to Hijaz (۶:۳۱). He disliked rising against Mukhtar, but when they insisted him to do so, he [ultimately] rose against him (۶:۴۴). He fought [the followers of Mukhtar [near] the Euphrates. He was covered with wounds and was carried away by the soldiers (۶:۵۱). [‘Abd al-Rahman] then joined Mus’ab bin al-Zubair in Basrah, along with those noblemen of Kufah who had risen [against Mukhtar] (۶:۵۵). Mus’ab sent him to Kufah in ۶۷ H to invite people to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubair and to persuade them to go [and join] Mus’ab (۶:۹۵). He remained with Mus’ab throughout his war against Mukhtar (۶:۱۰۴). In the year ۷۴ H, during the rule of ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwan, [‘Abd al-Rahman] fought against the Azariqah sect of the Khawarij, on the order of Bishr bin Marwan, the governor of Basrah (۶:۱۹۷). He pursued them up to Kazarun, where they [bravely] fought him. [Most of] his followers were put to flight except for a few of them. ‘Abd al-Rahman continued to fight until he was killed in the year ۷۵ H (۶:۲۱۲).

۴- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۵۸): “[Abu Mikhnaf relates that:] ‘Humaid bin Muslim said...”

۵- Al-Tabari: [Zahr bin Qais] al-Ju’fi al-Kindi. He was one of those who testified against Hujr bin ‘Adiyy al-Kindi (۵:۲۷۰). He was with Ibn al-Muti’ against Mukhtar in the year ۶۶ H, and was sent against [Mukhtar] with a cavalry to the cemetery of the Kindah (۶:۱۸). He fought until he and his son were severely wounded near Furat (۶:۵۱). In the year ۶۷

H, he was with Mus’ab bin al-Zubair in his battle against Mukhtar, and he was sent with a cavalry to the cemetery of the Murad (۶:۱۰۵). He stopped at a place where the blacksmiths used to work, near a point where animals were given out on hire (۶:۱۰۶). He was among those people of Iraq to whom ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwan had written a letter in the year ۷۱ H. [He was asking them to abandon Mus’ab and] they answered his call and betrayed him (۶:۱۵۶). In the year ۷۴ H, he was leading the Madhhij and Asad in the battle against the Khawarij (۶:۱۹۷). In ۷۶ H, Hajjaj sent [Zahr] with ۱,۸۰۰ horsemen, who were riding on fine horses, to fight Shabib, the Khariji. They met and Shabib fought him [bravely] until he wounded him and he fell to the ground. Zahr was then taken to Hajjaj while he was wounded (۶:۲۴۲). This is the last information we have .about him. May Allah curse him

were Abu Bardah bin ‘Auf al-Azdi and Tariq bin ²abyan al-Azdi, and sent them with the (head of al-Husayn (as) and those of his companions to Yazid bin Mu’awiyah.(۱

He then ordered for the womenfolk of al-Husayn and his children, so they got ready. Shackles were put on the neck of ‘Ali bin al-Husayn (as) on his order. Then he sent [the caravan] under the command of Muhaffaz bin Tha’labah al-‘A’idhi [al-Qarashi](۲) and Shamir bin Dhi al-Jaushan. So they set out with them [towards Sham] and entered (upon Yazid.(۳

In the Court of Yazid

When the heads of al-Husayn and those of his family members and companions were :placed in front of Yazid, he recited

The swords have splitted the heads of people who were dear to us, but they were (most rebellious and unjust.(۴),(۵

:[Yahya bin al-Hakam(۶), the brother of Marwan bin al-Hakam, recited [in objection

On the bank [of the river] lies a head which is closer in kinship to us than Ibn Ziyad, the .slave with a false lineage

The offspring of Sumayyah has largely increased, while the daughter of the Prophet

!of Allah remains without offspring

Yazid bin Mu'awiyah struck his hand against the chest of Yahya bin al-Hakam and (said: "Be quiet!"(٧

Then he granted permission to the people, so they entered [the court]. The head [of al-Husayn] was placed before him. He had a cane with him by which he was poking at the teeth [of al-Husayn]. Abu Barazah al-Aslami(٨), one of the companions of the :Messenger of Allah (S), said

You are poking with your cane at"

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١ - Al-Tabari (٥:۴۶٠): "Hisham says: "Abdullah bin Yazid bin Rauh bin Zanbagh al-Judhami related to me from his father, who narrated from al-Ghaz bin Rabi'ah al-Jirshi -who was from the Himyar- that: 'By Allah, I was with Yazid bin Mu'awiyah in Damascus when Zahr bin Qais entered upon Yazid bin Mu'awiyah. Yazid said to him: 'Woe upon you! What is behind you? What have you got?' He said: 'O commander of the faithful, I bring good news of Allah's victory and support! Al-Husayn bin 'Ali (as) came against us with eighteen men of his house and sixty of his followers. We went out to meet them and we asked them to [either] surrender and submit to the authority of the governer, 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad, or to fight. They chose to fight rather than to surrender. We attacked them as the sun rose and surrounded them on every side. Eventually, [our] swords took their toll of the heads of the people until we [killed] the last of them. Their bodies were [left] naked, their clothes were blood-stained and their faces thrown in the dust. The sun is melting their [bodies], the wind is scattering [dust] over them, and their visitors at Qayy Sabsab are eagles and vultures. See also al-.(Irshad (pg.٢۵۴) and al-Tadhkirah (pg.٢۶٠

٢- Al-Tabari (٣:۴۶۵-۴٧٧): Muhaffaz participated in [different] battles since the year ١٣ H, including that of al-Qadisiyyah. The events of these battles have been narrated from .(him. Regarding his going to Sham with the captives, see al-Irshad (pg.٢۴۵

٣- Al-Tabari (٥:۴۵٩): "Abu Mikhnaf reports..."

۴- This is part of the Mufadhdhaliyyat poems by Husayn bin Hamam al-Mariyy. See Diwan al-Hamasah (۱:۱۹۳).

۵- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۰): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Saq'ab bin Zuhair has narrated to me from Qasim bin 'Abd al-Rahman, the slave of Yazid that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۶; Najaf edition), Muruj al-Dhahab (۳:۷۰) and al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۶۲). Sibt bin al-Jawzi narrates in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۶۱) from al-Zuhari that: "When the heads arrived, Yazid was in his watch-tower at Jairun. He recited: When those litters appeared and those suns shone on the hill of Jairun, The crow croaked, so I said: whether you croak or not, I have [already] settled my debt with my adversary! Ibn al-Jawzi further says: "What has commonly appeared in all narrations regarding what Yazid said, is that: 'When the head [of al-Husayn] was brought before him, he gathered the people of Sham and began poking at it with a cane as he recited the verses of Ibn al-Zab'ari: Had my elders at Badr witnessed the anguish of Khazraj at the striking spears. Indeed we have killed a person from their chiefs, and have equaled by it [the loss at] Badr and so it is equalled.'" Ibn al-Jawzi says: "And al-Sha'bi has added [the following]: The Hashimites played with the kingdom, for no news [from Allah] has come nor did revelation descend. I will not be of the Khunduf, if I do not avenge the sons of Ahmad for what they have done." Then [Ibn al-Jawzi] narrates on the authority of Qadhi Ibn Abi Ya'la from Ahmad bin Hanbal that he said: "If this is true of Yazid, then he is indeed a sinner (fasaqa)." According to Mujahid, Ibn Hanbal said: "...then he has indeed become a hypocrite (nafaqa)."

۶- Al-Tabari: He was with his brother, Marwan bin al-Hakam, in the battle of Jamal in Basrah. He fled defeated [from the battlefield] after he was wounded. He joined Mu'awiyah in Sham in ۳۷ H (۵:۵۳۵). [Yahya] was the governer of Madinah for his nephew, 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan, in the year ۷۵ H (۵:۲۰۲). He remained in this position until the year ۷۸ H, when 'Abd al-Malik sent him on a military expedition (۶:۳۲۱). This is the last information we have about him. Hisham bin 'Abd al-Malik had married [Yahya's] daughter called Umm Hakam (۷:۶۷).

۷- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۰): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Abu Ja'far al-'Absi has related to me from Abu 'Amarah al-'Absi that..." See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۶; Najaf edition) and al-Aghani (۱۲:۷۴) of Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani. Ibn al-Jawzi relates in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۶۲) from Hasan al-Basri that: "Yazid hit the head of al-Husayn and the part which the Prophet

of Allah (S) used to kiss." Then Hasan al-Basri recited: The offspring of Sumayyah has largely increased, while the daughter of the Prophet of Allah remains without .offspring

Al-Tabari: He was together with the Messenger of Allah [s] during the conquest of -٨ Makkah. He helped in killing 'Abdullah bin Khatal, the apostate whose blood had been declared by the Prophet of Allah [s] as lawful [i.e. it was allowed for a Muslim to kill him] (٣:٦٠). Abu Barazah participated in the conquest of Egypt as well, under [the command of] 'Amru bin al-'Ass in the year ٢٠ H (٤:١١). Tabari also has narrated Abu Barazah's objection to Yazid in his Tarikh (٥:٣٩٠), from Abu Ja'far al-Baqir (as) on the authority of 'Ammar al-Duhani. Al-Mas'udi writes in Muruj al-Dhahab (٣:٧١) that [Abu Barazah] said: "Keep away [the] cane! By Allah, I have often seen the Prophet of Allah (S) placing his mouth on his and kissing it." Sibt bin al-Jawzi also has narrated this report. He then quotes al-Baladhari saying: "The person who was present in Yazid's [court] and said these words was Anas bin Malik." Ibn al-Jawzi comments on this and says: "This is not correct, since Anas was in Kufah with Ibn Ziyad as we mentioned." See al-Tadhkirah .((pg.٢٦٢; Najaf edition

the teeth of al-Husayn! Indeed you have placed your staff at a point where I have often seen the Prophet of Allah (S) sucking it. O Yazid! You will indeed come on the Day of Judgment while your intercessor will be Ibn Ziyad, whereas [al-Husayn] will come on the Day of Judgement with Muhammad (S) as his intercessor." He then stood and .went away

Hind, the daughter of 'Abdullah bin 'Amir bin Kuraiz(١), [the wife of Yazid], heard their conversation. So she put on her veil and came out. She said [addressing Yazid]: "O commander of the faithful! Is this the head of al-Husayn, son of Fatimah, daughter of "!?the Prophet of Allah

He said: "Yes! So lament on him and mourn over the son of the daughter of the Messenger of Allah and the succor of the Quraish! Ibn Ziyad dealt with him hastily and "!killed him. May Allah kill him

Yahya bin al-Hakam said: "You will be distanced from Muhammad on the Day of

Resurrection. I shall never work together with you again." Then he stood up and went (away.(۲

Before] Yazid bin Mu'awiyah took his place, he summoned the noblemen of Sham and] seated them around him. Then he called in 'Ali bin al-Husayn and the children and womenfolk of al-Husayn (as). They were brought in, while the people were looking [at them]. They were seated in front of [Yazid]. When he saw their disheveled state, he said: "May Allah disgrace Ibn Marjanah! If there was any relation or kinship between

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۱- Al-Tabari: Uthman had sent him to Kabul from Sajistan and he conquered it in the year ۲۴ H (۴:۲۴۴). He then dismissed him from [Kabul] and appointed him as the governer of Basrah in ۲۹ H, after Abu Musa al-Ash'ari. ['Abdullah] was then ۲۵ years old, and he was the son of 'Uthman's maternal uncle (۴:۲۶۴). [While he was the governer of Basrah], he [also] conquered Persia (۴:۲۶۵). In the year ۳۱ H, he set out to Khurasan and conquered Abrashhu, Tus, Abiward, and Nassahati. He reached up to Sarakhs and signed a peace treaty with the people of Marw (۴:۳۰۰). He appointed Ziyad bin Sumayyah as his deputy over Basrah [while he was away] (۴:۳۰۱). In the year ۲۳ H, Ibn 'Amir conquered Marw, Taliqan, Faryab, Juzjan and Takharistan (۴:۳۰۹). He [also] conquered Herat and Badghis (۴:۳۱۴). 'Uthman sought his advice in the year ۳۴ H concerning those who revolted against him. Ibn 'Amir advised him to send them on military expeditions (۴:۳۳۳). In ۳۵ H, 'Uthman wrote to him asking him to mobilize the people of Basrah to come to defend him. He read the letter to them and people rushed to his aid. When they reached al-Rabadhah, they received the news that ['Uthman] was killed, so they returned [to Basrah] (۴:۳۶۸). Ibn 'Amir was [still] the governer of Basrah when 'Uthman was killed in ۳۵ H (۴:۴۲۱). He [later] went to Hijaz and met Talhah, Zubair, Sa'id bin al-'Ass, Walid bin 'Uqbah and the rest of the Banu Umayyah. After long deliberations, they [all] decided to go to Basrah. Earlier they were about to go to Sham, but 'Abdullah said to them: "The man in charge of Sham [i.e. Mu'awiyah] will take care of that place. Come to Basrah, for there are traders in [Basrah] who are inclined towards Talhah." 'Aishah and Hafsah [also] accepted their

[decision], but ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar prevented the latter [from joining them]. Ibn ‘Amir told [those who were ready to go with him]: “I have so-and-so much with me, so get yourselves prepared with it” (۴:۴۵۱). He was wounded in the battle of Jamal and fled to Sham (۴:۵۳۶). He was the one sent by Mu’awiyah to Madain to sign the peace treaty with al-Hasan (as) (۵:۱۵۹). Mu’awiyah reinstated him as the governor of Basrah (۵:۲۱۲). Mu’awiyah married him his daughter, Hind bint Mu’awiyah. ‘Abdullah [once] debased Ziyad because of his lineage. So Mu’awiyah became angry on him, but Yazid pleaded with [Mu’awiyah] on his behalf (۵:۲۱۴). Although Tabari does not mention when [exactly] Yazid married [Ibn ‘Amir’s] daughter, Hind, it appears that the marriage must have taken place when [Ibn ‘Amir] took the hand of Yazid’s sister, Hind. [Hind, daughter of Ibn ‘Amir], bore ‘Abdullah for Yazid. She used to be known as Umm Kulthum (۵:۵۰۰). In the year ۶۴ H, after Yazid died and Ibn Ziyad fled from Basrah, a group from the people of Basrah chose [Ibn Amir’s] son, ‘Abd al-Malik bin ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amir, as their governer. He held the position for a month, before the governership of Ibn al-Zubair (۵:۵۲۷).

۲- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۵): “[Abu Mikhnaf says:] ‘Abu Hamzah al-Thimali narrated to me from Qasim bin Bukhait, on the authority of ‘Ubaidullah al-Thimali that...”

you and him, he would not have done this to you, nor would he have sent you in this condition!”

Yazid then said to ‘Ali [bin al-Husayn (as)]: “O ‘Ali! Your father cut the bond of kinship with me and showed ignorance of my rights and contested my leadership. So Allah treated him in the way you have seen.”

Ali (as) replied: “No affliction visits the earth or yourselves but it is in a book before We bring it about.”(۱)

So Yazid said to him: “Whatever affliction that may visit you is because of what your hands have earned, though He excuses many [an offense].”(۲),(۳)

Fatimah, daughter of ‘Ali(۴) (as) says: “When we were seated before Yazid bin Mu’awiyah, a man with a red face from the people of Sham stood up and said: “O commander of the faithful! Give me this one as a gift”, and he meant me. I shuddered

and became afraid, thinking that it is allowed for them to do that. So I caught hold of the garment of my sister, Zainab. She was [then] older and more matured than I was, and she knew that that would not happen. She said to [the man]: "You are a liar –by Allah- and have showed your lowliness! Such a thing is neither for you [to decide] nor ".for him

Yazid was enraged and said [to Zainab]: "By Allah, you are a liar! That is for me [to "!decide]. If I wish to do that, I can do it

!She said: "No by Allah

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Qur'an, ۵۷:۲۲. Abu al-Faraj relates in al-Maqatil (pg.۸۰) the remaining part of the -۱ verse also: "…That is indeed easy for Allah, so that you may not grieve for what escapes you, nor exult for what comes your way, and Allah does not like any swaggering braggart." Ibn al-Jawzi has narrated the whole verse and says: "'Ali bin al-Husayn and the women were tied up in ropes. So 'Ali called out Yazid: 'O Yazid! What will the Prophet of Allah think [of you] if he was to see us [in this state], tied up in ropes and uncovered on the hump of the camels?!' There was no one among the people .([who heard this] except that he wept." See al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۶۲

Qur'an, ۴۲:۳۰. According to Abu al-Faraj: "Yazid first recited this verse, and - ۲ thereafter Imam al-Sajjad (as) replied him with the verse ۵۷ of Surat al-Hadid [Ch.۵۷]." .This seems to be more appropriate

.(Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۱): "Abu Mikhnaf says…" See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۶; Najaf edition -۳

This is how it has appeared in the text. However, al-Mufid in al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۶) and -۴ "…Ibn al-Jawzi in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۶۴) say: "[Fatimah,] daughter of al-Husayn

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Allah has not given you that [right], unless if you were to leave our faith and profess ".belief in another religion

Hearing this] Yazid became distraught with anger and was agitated. He said: "Are you] "!saying this in front of me? It is your father and brother who have left the religion

She said: “It is through the religion of Allah and the religion of my father, brother and ”.my grandfather that you, your father and grandfather have been guided aright

”!Yazid said: “You are lying, O enemy of Allah

Zainab] said: “You are a ruler who holds power, [yet] you vilify unjustly and you have] ”!become oppressive with your authority

.Yazid was ashamed and] thus became silent]

The Syrian man repeated [his request] and said: “O commander of the faithful! Give ”.me this slave girl

(Yazid] shouted: “Go away! May Allah grant you death!”(١)]

He then ordered the women to be lodged in a separate house, with them [he sent] ‘Ali bin al-Husayn and [they were provided with] all that they needed. So they came out [of the court] and entered [that house]. There was no woman from the family of Mu’awiyah except that she came to receive them, weeping and bewailing al-Husayn .(as). They mourned him for three days

The Household Of Al-Husayn (as) In Madinah

point

When they intended to return, Yazid bin Mu’awiyah said: “O Nu’man bin Bashir! Prepare for them whatever they need and send a righteous and trustworthy person from among the people of Sham with them. [Also] send some horsemen and helpers with him to guide them towards

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Al-Tabari (٥:٣٩٠) narrates this report from Imam al-Baqir (as) on the authority of - ١ .‘Ammar al-Duhani

.Madinah

Nu'man] thus went with them. He used to advance with them at night. [During the] journey], the [family of al-Husayn (as)] moved ahead of him so that they should never be out of his sight. When they stopped, he would go aside from them, and he and his followers would separate around them like a group of guards over them. They would keep away from them such that if any person from the [group] wanted to wash or perform a need, he would not be ashamed. He continued to stop [the caravan] on the way in this manner, being kind to them and looking after them until they entered (Madinah.(١)

The Arrival in Madinah

When the news of the death of al-Husayn (as) reached the people of Madinah, Umm Luqman(٢), the daughter of 'Aqil bin Abi Talib, came out together with the [other] women -while her head was unveiled and she was covering herself with her garment. :She recited

What would you say if the Prophet asked you: What have you done while you are the .last of the nations

With my offspring and my family after my departure? Some of them have become (prisoners, and some other stained with blood.(٣)

When 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Abi Talib(۴) heard about the death of his two sons [Muhammad and 'Aun] along with al-Husayn (as), people [began] coming up to him to condole him. He turned to those sitting around him and said: "All praise is due to Allah - [the Almighty and the Majestic- for [every misfortune, even for the

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١- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶١): "[Abu Mikhnaf relates this] from Fatimah on the authority of Harith .(bin Ka'b..." See also Maqatil al-Talibiyyin (pg.٨٠) and al-Tadhkirah (pg.٢۶۴

٢- Shaikh al-Mufid says in al-Irshad (pg.٢۴٨): "Umm Luqman, the daughter of 'Aqil bin Abi Talib, may Allah have mercy on them, came out crying when she heard the news of the death of al-Husayn (as). Her head was uncovered as she came out with her

sisters: Umm Hani, Asma', Ramlah and Zainab, daughters of 'Aqil bin Abi Talib, may Allah have mercy on them. She wept for her [relatives] slain on the bank [of the Euphrates], saying…" Sibt bin al-Jawzi has also related this in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۶۷) .from Zainab bint 'Ali on the authority of al-Waqidi

Tabari has related these verses from Imam al-Baqir (as) on the authority of - ۳ 'Ammar al-Duhani. [Al-Baqir says:] "He prepared them [for the journey] and took them to Madinah. When they entered [Madinah], a woman from the Banu 'Abd al-Muttalib came out with dishevelled hair and with the sleeve [of her garment] on her head. She approached them wailing and saying: What will you answer if the Prophet asked you, what have you done, while you were the last of the nations. To my progeny and household after my death? from them are captives and others are covered with their blood. This was not the recompense to which I directed you, that after me you deal .with my kin with such evil

Al-Tabari: He is the one who narrated the incident of Halimah al-Sa'diyyah (۲:۱۵۸). In -۴ the year ۸ H, when the soldiers returned from the battle of Mu'tah [and his father, Ja'far, had been martyred], the Messenger of Allah [s] asked [the family of 'Abdullah to bring him. So they brought him to the Prophet and] he took him in his hands (۳:۴۲). 'Abdullah was the one who suggested to 'Ali (as) to dismiss Qais bin Sa'd from the governorship of Egypt and to appoint over it his half brother from his mother's side, Muhammad bin 'Abi Bakr. The Imam (as) accepted his suggestion (۴:۳۶). 'Abdullah was with 'Ali (as) in Siffin (۵:۶۱). He, together with al-Hasan and al-Husayn, undertook the arrangement for the burial of Imam 'Ali (as). Then he returned with them to Madinah (۵:۱۶۵). We have given his biography when we mentioned his letter to al-Husayn from .Makkah through his [two] sons, Muhammad and 'Aun

martyrdom of al-Husayn (as). If my two hands could not assist al-Husayn (as), then my two sons have [at least] helped him. By Allah, had I been with him, I would have loved not to part from him until I am killed with him. By Allah, what makes me too glad to give up [both of] them and makes easy for me to bear their loss, is [the fact] that they were killed together with my brother and cousin, while they supported him and (persevered with him."(۱),(۲

The First Visitor Of Al-Husayn (as) From Kufah

After the martyrdom of al-Husayn] 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad inquired about the noblemen] of Kufah. He did not see 'Ubaidullah bin al-Hurr [al-Ju'fi]. After a couple of days, Ibn "?Hurr came to Ibn Ziyad. So he asked: "Where were you, O son of Hurr

".He replied: "I was sick

"!?Ibn Ziyad] said: "Sick in soul or in body]

He said: "As for my heart, it has not ailed. With regard to my body, Allah has granted "!me soundness in health

".Ibn Ziyad said to him: "You are a liar. Rather you were with our enemy

He said: "If I was with your enemy, it would have been known. The place of someone ".like me is never unknown

Ibn Ziyad [then] became inattentive of him for a moment. So Ibn Hurr [availed the opportunity and] took his way out and mounted his horse. [After sometime] Ibn Ziyad "?said: "Where is Ibn al-Hurr

.He has just left", the people answered"

".Ibn Ziyad said: "Get him for me

So [his] guards went after him and

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۱- Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۶): "[Abu Mikhnaf says that I narrate this] from 'Abd al-Rahman bin "...'Ubaid Abu al-Kanud, on the authority of Sulaiman bin Abi Rashid

۲- Hisham reports: "'Awanah bin al-Hakam has related to me saying: 'When 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad killed Husayn bin 'Ali, he summoned 'Abd al-Malik bin Abi Harith al-Salami and said: 'Go to Madinah and meet 'Amru bin Sa'id bin al-'Ass -who was then the governor of Madinah- and give him the news of the death of al-Husayn. None other than you should inform him of the news. Do not fall ill. If your mount happened to tire, buy another one.' He [also] gave him some money (dananir). 'Abd al-

Malik says: 'So I came to Madinah and went to see 'Amru bin Sa'id. He said: 'What is the news?' I said: 'That which would please the governor! Al-Husayn bin 'Ali has been killed!' He said: 'Then announce his death!' So I announced it. I had never heard before the like of the wails of the women of the Hashimite from their houses, mourning al-Husayn. 'Amru bin Sa'id laughed [at this] and said: The women of the Banu Ziyad raised a great lament like the lamentation of our women, mourning [after the battle] of al-Arnab.'* 'Amru then ascended the pulpit and informed the people about his death." See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۷; Najaf edition). [In another report] Hisham says: "'Awanah related to me that: 'Ubaidullah bin Ziyad said to 'Umar bin Sa'd: 'O 'Umar! Where is the letter that I wrote to you [instructing] you to kill al-Husayn?' He said: 'I carried out your order, [but] the letter is lost.' 'You must bring it!' insisted Ibn Ziyad. 'It is lost', 'Umar replied. 'By Allah, you must bring it to me,' he repeated. 'Umar said, 'By Allah, it has been left in Madinah to be read for the olden women of Quraish, as an apology to them! By Allah, I have been sincere [enough] with you with regard to the issue of al-Husayn, such that if I had acted with such loyalty to my own father, Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas, I would have discharged my duty towards him.' [Here] 'Uthman bin Ziyad, the brother of 'Ubaidullah, says: 'By Allah, he has said the truth. I wish I would have seen the mark of slavery on every man of the Banu Ziyad till the Day of Resurrection, but that al-Husayn should not have been killed!" Hisham says: "'Amru bin Haizum al-Kalbi narrated to me from his father that he heard a voice calling out: O men who ignorantly killed al-Husayn, hear the news of punishment and chastisement. All the people of heaven, prophets, angels and their likes, are cursing you. You have been cursed by the tongue of the son of Dawud, and [that] of Musa and [that] of the bearer of the Injil. See also al-Irshad (pg.۲۴۸) and al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۷۰; Najaf edition).
* The verse is of 'Umar bin Mu'id Yakrub al-Zubaidi. They had waged a battle against the Banu Ziyad in retaliation to the battle fought by the latter against the Banu Zubaid. Sibt bin al-Jawzi has briefly narrated this report in al-Tadhkirah (pg.۲۶۶). He also narrates from al-Sha'bi that: "Marwan bin al-Hakam was in Madinah. So [Abd al-Malik] took the head [of al-Husayn] and placed it before [Marwan]. He touched the tip of his nose and said: 'How excellent is [the touch of] your coldness for the hands, and [the sight] of redness on [your] cheeks!' He then said: "By Allah! It is as if I am looking at the days of 'Uthman!' Ibn Abi al-Hadid writes in his Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah (۴:۷۲): "The

correct version is that: Ubaidullah bin Ziyad wrote to ‘Amru bin Sa’id bin al-‘Ass, giving him the good news of al-Husayn’s death. ‘Amru read his letter from the pulpit and recited the verses [mentioned above]. He pointed towards the grave of the Prophet and said: ‘Today for the day of Badr.’ So a group of Ansar reproached him for [saying] .that.” This has also been mentioned by Abu ‘Ubaidah in al-Mathalib

”!said to him: “The governor is calling you

Ibn al-Hurr] drove his horse and then said: “Tell him that, by Allah, I will never submit] ”!to his obedience again

:Then he left [Kufah] and went to Karbala’. He recited in this regard

A treacherous governor, son of a traitor says: why did you not fight the martyr, son of ?Fatimah

.I regret that I did not help him, a soul which is not rightly directed [always] regrets

!Since I was not among his supporters, I am in a grief that will not part me

May Allah make the souls -that determinedly helped him- to drink from the .[everlasting shower [of his mercy

Now] that I am standing by their graves and places, I am torn apart from within and] .my eyes are tearful

By my life, they were valiant amidst the tumult, hurrying towards the battle and .defending [al-Husayn] like lions

Now] that they have been killed, every pious soul on the earth has become] .despondent

None has seen [a people] better than them, at death [they were] like chiefs and .blooming flowers

O Ibn Ziyad] you kill them unjustly and then expect our love; leave this plan which is]

.not favourable for us

By my life, you have rubbed our nose in the ground by killing them, what a large .number of man and woman from us will take revenge from you

Many a time I intend to advance with an army against a group which has unjustly .deviated from the truth

So restrain yourselves or else I will drive you away with

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(the support of an army, severer than the [forces] of the Dailamites.(۱),(۲

Final Remarks

With the mercy of Allah, the Most High, we have come to the end of the reports about Imam al-Husayn (as) which have appeared in Tarikh al-Tabari, and which [Tabari narrated] on the authority of Hisham al-Kalbi from Abu Mikhnaf, who in turn related [these reports] from his [chain of] narrators. We also edited the reports, bringing in our comments and remarks. The primary source for our comments happened to be, .again, Tarikh al-Tabari, except for the information that we could not find in it

.All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the Worlds

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Al-Tabari (۵:۴۶۹): "[Abu Mikhnaf says:] 'Abd al-Rahman bin Jundab al-Azdi narrated -۱ "...to me that

Al-Tabari: The reason Ibn al-Hurr brings in the example of the Dailamites is -۲ because of the valour they exhibited during the battles of resistance, after the fall of the Sasanid dynasty. He was a follower of 'Uthman. When ['Uthman] was assassinated, Ibn al-Hurr left Kufah and went to Mu'awiyah. He remained there until the [martyrdom] of 'Ali (as) (۵:۱۲۸). Thereafter, he returned to Kufah. When Hujr [bin 'Adiyy] was arrested, Ibn al-Hurr wished that if only five to ten men had helped him,

he could have saved Hujr and his companions (٥:٢٧١). When al-Husayn (as) invited him to join him, he said: "By Allah, I only left Kufah out of dislike that you may enter it while I am there." Al-Husayn (as) said: "If you are not [intending] to help us, then [at least] fear Allah in that you should be among those who fight us; for by Allah, one who hears our call [for help] but does not come to our help, is, indeed, going to perish" (٥:۴٠٧). After the death of Yazid and the flight of Ibn Ziyad and during the uprising of Mukhtar, Ibn al-Hurr went to Madain with ٧٠٠ horsemen, collecting money [from the people]. Mukhtar detained his wife in Kufah and told her: "I am going to kill his companions" (٥:١٢٩). Ibn al-Hurr later joined Mus'ab bin al-Zubair and fought against Mukhtar (٥:١٠٥). Ibn al-Hurr is the one who suggested to Mus'ab, after Mukhtar was killed, to kill the non-Arabs among [Mukhtar's] followers and leave the Arabs. And Mus'ab did so (٥:١١۶). Then, Mus'ab feared him for his own life, so he imprisoned him. A group from the Madhhij interceded with him on his behalf, so he freed him. Thereafter, [Ibn al-Hurr] rose against him (٥:١٣١). He later joined 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan. The latter sent him to Kufah at a time when [the city] was under the governer of Ibn al-Zubair. So [Ibn al-Hurr] fought him in the year ۶٨ H and killed him (٥:١٣٥). We made some mention of his life when giving the account of his meeting with the Imam (as) at Qasr Bani Muqatil, .'on the way to Karbala

About center

In the name of Allah

هَلْيَسْتَوِيالَّذِينَيَعْلَمُونَوَالَّذِينَلَايَعْلَمُونَ

?Are those who know equal to those who do not know

al-Zumar: ٩

:Introduction

Ghaemiyeh Computer Research Institute of Isfahan, from ٢٠٠٧, under the authority of Ayatollah Haj SayyedHasanFaqihImami (God blesses his soul), by sincere and daily efforts of university and seminary elites and sophisticated groups began its activities .in religious, cultural and scientific fields

:Manifesto

Ghaemiyeh Computer Research Institute of Isfahan in order to facilitate and accelerate the accessibility of researchers to the books and tools of research, in the field of Islamic science, and regarding the multiplicity and dispersion of active centers in this field

and numerous and inaccessible sources by a mere scientific intention and far from any kind of social, political, tribal and personal prejudices and currents, based on performing a project in the shape of (management of produced and published works from all Shia centers) tries to provide a rich and free collection of books and research papers for the experts, and helpful contents and discussions for the educated generation and all classes of people interested in reading, with various formats in the .cyberspace

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(propagating the culture and teachings of Thaqalayn (Quran and Ahlulbayt p.b.u.t-

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.It's obvious that all the responsibilities are due to the author

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:Appreciation

We would appreciate the centers, institutes, publications, authors and all honorable .friends who contributed their help and data to us to reach the holy goal we follow

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